HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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NEWSPAPER

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Would Trade U. S. POW's for Soviet Spy Pair

Brezhnev Proposes Spy-for-Prisoners Exchange

From the Allen-Scott Report

Communist party boss Brezhnev is proposing an extraordinary spy-for-prisoner-of-war exchange.

He is offering to swap an unspecified number of U.S. prisoners of war in Viet Nam for two top Russian spies in a Western prison.

The proposed exchange, under consideration in the highest levels in Washington and London, centers around Morris and Lorna Cohen, alias Peter and Helen Kroger, who are serving 20-year espionage sentences in Britain.

The husband-and-wife spy team, who so far have refused to talk about their far-flung activities, are wanted by U.S. authorities for their connection with Col. Rudolf Abel, the convicted Soviet spy who was traded for U-2 pilot Gary Powers.

Brezhnev's secret feeler was made to Prime Minister Wilson during his visit to Moscow in March. Immediately upon returning to London, he communicated the plan to Washington.

Wilson reported that Brezhnev first intimated the Russians wanted the Cohens freed and were willing to exchange a Briton serving a five-year sentence for alleged distribution of anti-Soviet literature.

This proposal was rejected by Wilson —who had been informed in advance it would be made. Wilson told Brezhnev the United States wanted the Cohens for questioning and possible prosecution.

At this point, Brezhnev tossed his bombshell.

He told Wilson the Soviet was prepared to exchange captured U.S. troops in Viet Nam for the Cohens.

The Soviet party leader mentioned no figures. But significantly he spoke in the plural when referring to U.S. POWs.

At one point in the discussion, Brezhnev went so far as to intimate that U.S. nationals, including tourists in Russia, might be held for ransom to liberate the two Soviet spies.

At no time did the Communist party ruler indicate how the liberation of the U.S. prisoners would be obtained from North Viet Nam. But he gave every indication of being confident that could be arranged.

Brezhnev even intimated the exchange could lead to further prisoner of war negotiations.

According to Defense Department records, 32 servicemen were listed on March 15 as held captive by the Communists. Another 180 are listed as "missing in action" and could be in enemy hands.

Further, two officials of the Agency for International Development also are prisoners of the Viet Cong. All POWs are believed to be in camps in North Viet Nam or the southern part of China near Nanning.

The White House is discussing the next move with the British government.

Pending a decision, the State Department is warning persons applying for passports to Russia that they may be seized on trumped-up charges and harshly treated.

Brezhnev's personal intervention in behalf of the Cohens is considered by Justice Department officials as striking confirmation of the importance they have long attached to this spy couple. The exchange offer is believed linked to Soviet fears that Mrs. Cohen, in prison since 1961, may break and start "singing" about the worldwide Red espionage network.

Government records show the Cohens hurriedly fled the United States in 1950 following the arrest of Dr. Klaus Fuchs, the atomic spy at Harwell, England, and Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, whom the U.S. executed for espionage. At the time the Cohens were living in New York and the husband was an employe of the board of education.

Although sought by the FBI, the Cohens disappeared until 1954, when they were traced to Vienna, Paris and then London, where they became known as the "K rogers."

In 1957, when the FBI apprehended the Soviets' master spy, Col. Rudolf Abel, photographs of the Cohens were found in his deposit box with a large sum of money. The FBI also learned that Abel had paid the Cohens' bills after they vanished.

The Cohens were arrested in the notorious "naval secrets" case in Britain in 1961. They were convicted on charges of turning over to Russian agents highly secret information about the British navy, including nuclear-powered submarines.

The Cohens have been Communists since the Spanish civil war, where the husband served in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Morris Cohen was born in Russia, his wife in the United States.

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Brezhnev has even hinted that U.S. tourists in Russia might be held as ransom for the two Soviet spies.

The United States would like to talk to the two Soviet agents in connection with the activities of Col. Rudolph Abel (above).

Reports are circulating in the Justice Department that Mrs. Cohen appears ready to talk. If she does, the world may learn the details of what security experts describe as the Kremlin's most efficient and far-flung spy organization.

★ ★ ★

The deeply disturbing possibility of a regime coming into power in South Viet Nam that would demand the [illegible] States leave the country is being [illegible] deliberated in inner White House cc[illegible]

This jarring likelihood was b[illegible] up by President Johnson himse[illegible] discussion on Viet Nam with top Democratic congressional leaders.

Without going into details, the President told them that a number of contingency plans are being formulated, including one dealing with the possibility that a Saigon government might call for the withdrawal of U.S. forces.

While expressing encouragement over the progress of the war against the Communists, the President declared all could be lost if political instability continued for any length of time.

U.S. Ambassador Lodge, the President disclosed, so far has been unable to find a "formula" for a stable Saigon government. "But he is still trying to develop a consensus," said the President, "and is talking with everyone but the Viet Cong."

The violent riots and demonstrations against Premier Ky's government were characterized by the President as "Buddhist-led and Communist-inspired."

The effectiveness of this "unholy alliance," he held, is the basis for the dire possibility of the establishment of a regime that would enter into negotiations with North Viet Nam and the Viet Cong.

The President did not indicate what the United States might do in such an eventuality. All he said was that alternatives are being discussed and a decision has not been reached.

One congressional leader expressed the opinion that an even more ominous situation could arise.

He described this as one in which a coalition government of Buddhists and economic and military power to suppress other South Vietnamese elements, such as Catholics.

"What would the U.S. do in such an event?" asked the legislator.

The President shook his head and said nothing. The question remained unanswered.

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See page 10 for more on Viet Nam.

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Was Formosa Betrayed?

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LBJ's 'Economy' Myth

Page 3

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Practical Politics—V

Teen-Agers, Women and Shut-Ins

Women, teen-agers and shut-ins can all play important roles in your political campaign.

TEEN-AGERS

Boys and girls in their teens (as demonstrated in Sen. John Tower's 1961 victory) have a remarkable potential for handling a multitude of campaign chores that would completely frustrate their elders. Perhaps due to their seemingly boundless energy, perhaps because of their enthusiasm when aroused, young men and women can—and will—work wonders in your candidate's behalf.

Start with your own children and those of your fellow campaign workers. Tell them what you're doing and why. Assign a fixed responsibility, clear-cut and easily understandable. Let them decide how to carry it out and whom else to ask.

For instance, they can be given the responsibility for babysitting on election day. They can be made responsible for car pools to take voters to the polls. You could give *them the job of distributing leaflets,* campaign buttons or registration instructions.

Teen-agers can organize "bumper sticker parties" on Saturday mornings, traveling in a group to a local shopping center where many different cars will show up. (Remember, however, to remind your teen-age workers to ask the driver's permission before putting a bumper sticker on his car. Some persons do not like these stickers and your candidate could lose votes if bumpers are decorated without permission.) Local sports events also provide good opportunities for this type of campaign work.

Another area in which teen-agers can be extremely valuable is the placement of campaign posters in store windows and the construction and erection of small billboards. Teen-age boys in particular often enjoy this sort of work.

Whatever task you assign your young volunteers, don't, in their own words, "bug" them. Tell them what's needed, then leave them alone; they'll surprise you with a new-found thoroughness amazing to even close relatives.

If the original group attracts a large enough following, a "Teens for [Your Candidate]" campaign may be developed with all the attendant publicity. The youngsters can even appoint their own publicity chairman to make sure local papers are well aware of rallies, meetings and donated labor.

WOMEN

Two almost instinctive characteristics of women are tenacity and fervor; in your campaign, they are invaluable.

Just what women can do is visibly illustrated by the work 36 women put into a single state senator's campaign in 1958. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States recorded the following activities performed by these workers:

- Made 6,704 telephone calls.
- Personally called on 9,528 houses.
- Distributed 47,850 pieces of campaign literature.
- Put in 5,798 hours of voluntary work.
- Set up a central card file on voters.
- Served as babysitters on election day.
- Formed car pools to drive voters to the polls.

Their candidate won by 5,000 votes over a man who had beaten him two years before by 3,000 votes. These women were not professional politicians. They were wives and mothers, each with a responsibility to her own family, who worked for what they thought was vital to their community—good government.

SHUT-INS

"Letters to the editor" in your local paper are widely read and influence many voters. Writing these letters is an ideal activity for those who, for one reason or another, are shut-ins.

Sit down with a piece of paper and write a list of all the campaign issues you wish to use against your opponent. You'll probably end up with several dozen actions, statements and policies of the opposition that will make the average citizen boiling mad. Furnish each shut-in with four or five subjects apiece, together with the names and addresses of every newspaper which is read by citizens in your area.

Tell them to keep their letters short **and to the point, avoiding nastiness or vituperation. They should present the situation, identify it with the opposition and close with your candidate's solution. Gentle humor with a degree of wit will amount to a more telling blow than unrestrained anger.**

Shut-ins can also be helpful in addressing and stuffing envelopes for mailings to the voters. Most persons are more likely to read a hand-addressed envelope, but for a large mailing hand addressing is usually impossible. If, however, you have organized shut-ins (and don't overlook housewives with small children) you will have the workers available for this job. All you must do is provide the shut-ins with voter lists, brochures, stamps and boxes of envelopes; set deadlines and tell these workers to call headquarters when they are finished so that somebody can pick up the envelopes and take them to the post office. (Teen-agers can help you with this pick-up and delivery service.)

By involving shut-ins in your campaign, you will have made political activists of them—the ultimate goal of any campaign leader.

Next week's article, "Whom to Hire," will discuss the advisability of using professional help in your campaign.

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Where's LBJ's 'Economy in Government'?

From the Allen-Scott Report

President Johnson's incessantly reiterated favorite theme of economy in government has a raucously hollow ring when compared to the actual record.

While the President fervently calls on housewives to cut down family shopping lists and businessmen to limit capital investments in new plants and equipment to help curb inflation, his Administration is adding thousands of high-paying jobs to the government's already overblown payroll.

Graphically illustrative of this contrast are the following facts:

• The budget for the new fiscal year, starting July 1, provides for a total of 2,416,500 government positions—excluding the legislative and judicial branches. The Joint Congressional Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures, headed by Rep. George Mahon (D.-Tex.), reports that in February of this year—latest month for which figures are available—government employment totaled 2,580,518.

• In other words, in February the federal payroll already exceeded by 164,018 the number of jobs on which the President's budget for the new fiscal year—starting this coming July—was based.

The bulk of the huge increase in federal jobs—347,765 since June 1965—has been in non-defense agencies. In the nine-month period they have added 250,374 employes and are 164,959 over their projected fiscal 1967 level.

The Defense Department has expanded by 97,391 jobs. It has not yet exceeded its fiscal 1967 ceiling, but is within a thousand jobs of doing so.

Federal employment totaled 2,511,342 on Dec. 1, 1963, several weeks after President Johnson took office. By Oct. 1, 1964, a month before the national elections, the government payroll had been pared down to 2,479,941.

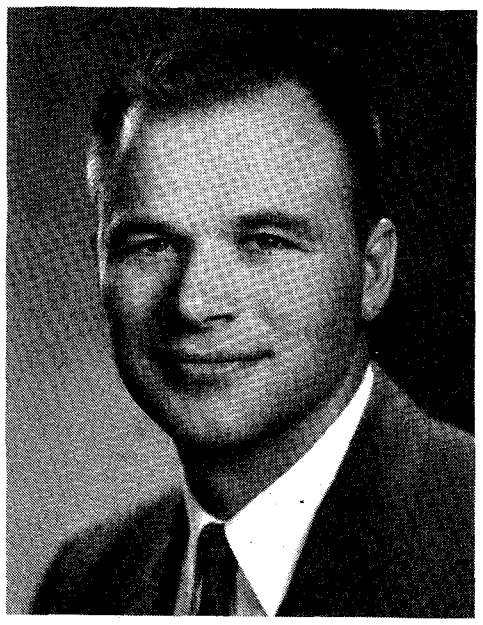
That's as low as it has gotten in the "Great Society." Since then, it has steadily gone up—with no end remotely in sight.

Further, the rising tide of jobs is far from the whole story.

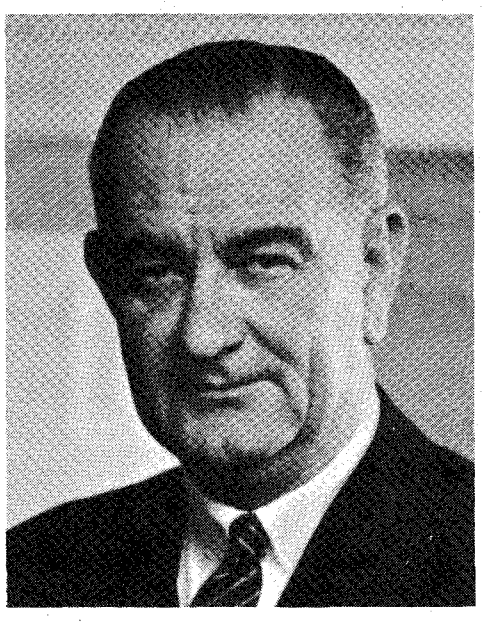
Another and directly related facet is soaring payroll costs.

As of January, latest month for which figures are available, the government's payroll was running at the rate of $1.522 billion a month. Estimated payroll costs for the current fiscal year ending June 30 are $13 billion; for the next fiscal year $14.1 billion. In fiscal 1965 they amounted to $11.5 billion.

This $2.6-billion jump in government employment costs in less than three years is due to climb still further as a result of three Administration measures:



Rep. Albert Quie (R.-Minn.) wants to take politics out of the government's summer job program.



Despite promises from the President, federal employment already exceeds the budget figure for the fiscal year that doesn't begin until July 2.

(1) The across-the-board pay raise for civilian workers passed overwhelmingly by the House and now pending in the Senate. The House version would add $593.6 million to the new fiscal budget. This civilian pay boost is virtually certain to lead to an increase in military pay. Rep. L. Mendel Rivers (D.-S.C.), chairman of the Armed Services Committee, has served notice he will sponsor such a measure and its enactment is a foregone conclusion.

(2) Restrictions on certain promotions are being eased, permitting agencies to install approximately 7,000 workers in jobs paying from $14,000 to $20,000. Funds for these new positions are to be obtained largely by eliminating lower-echelon jobs. At least, that's the theory. Whether it works out that way remains to be seen. It would be no surprise if most of the lower-paying jobs were retained.

(3) Creation of 360 new super-grade positions with salaries ranging from $19,619 to $25,382. This little-known Administration bill, sponsored by Rep. Clarence Long (D.-Md.), of the Civil Service Committee, is pending in the House. Three hundred of these juicy plums would be allocated to various agencies, a number of them "Great Society" creations; 10 would go to the National Security Agency, directly under the White House.

A "sleeper" in this bill is what is known as the "escalation factor." When a government employe is promoted to a higher position, that results in an upward chain reaction all along the line—with employes and costs going up together.

★ ★ ★

The Johnson Administration's loudly touted summer job program for "needy" youths apparently will follow last year's pattern in being a patronage grab.

Applicants for these jobs, paying from $1.25 to $2.29 an hour, will not have to be "needy." The really important factor will be political pull—as was the case last year.

Authority for this revealing information is none other than Vice President Hubert Humphrey, whom the President put in charge of what is euphemistically called the Youth Opportunity Program. Humphrey disclosed these plans at a conference with government personnel officials.

"While the emphasis should be on helping the poor and disadvantaged," he told them, "some people are in need who are not poor in money. Some are poor in opportunity or poor in spirit, and the aim of this program is to help them as well as those in financial need."

In last year's program thousands of not-so-needy youths were discovered holding these jobs. Hawaii's millionaire Republican Sen. Hiram Fong helped his son and niece get $2.29-an-hour jobs in the postal service. Sen. William Proxmire (D.-Wis.) got jobs for a son and stepdaughter, but later, when that came to light, sent a $1,806 check to the treasury.

Word of Vice President Humphrey's comments has reached Republican leaders and they are indignantly up in arms.

"Last year's program," says Rep. William Ayres of Ohio, ranking Republican on the House Labor Committee, "was a scandal. It turned out to be a political plum for the benefit of a lot of wealthy youngsters. We are going to do everything we can to keep the program honest and for the benefit of the truly needy this year."

Rep. Albert Quie (R.-Minn.) is urging Civil Service Chairman John Macy to put the summer job program on a strict merit basis.

"Doing that will help avoid the abuses and outrages that occurred last summer," says Quie. "That shabby and disgraceful record must not be repeated, and one way to help do it is to put these jobs strictly on a need and merit basis."

Figures compiled by Quie on last year's program show that in the Post Office alone, 3,380 of 8,577 summer jobs were filled through political patronage.

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The Young Flexibles

From the Dallas *Morning News*

The Ripon Society, a small group of Republican liberals, recently urged the Republican party to lead a campaign for "a more flexible American response" to Red China.

Since the liberal terminology used in semantic smokescreening crosses all party lines, we trust that everyone can read that gliberalism in the original and translate it without difficulty.

As the American leftists have habitually used the term, a "flexible" policy toward communism is a policy of appeasing Communist aggression by gracious surrender. And it is so used by the Ripon progressives here.

Franklin D. Roosevelt made "flexibility" before communism a national policy during the World War II conferences with Stalin. He succeeded in charming the Communist dictator from the path of belligerence so well that we have been fighting for our survival ever since.

Now the young liberals of the GOP urge that we repeat the mistake and try to win over the Chinese Stalin by the same methods. The most important item on the Ripon agenda of flexibility, of course, is to "discontinue" opposition to the seating of Red China in the United Nations. At the same time, says the Ripon group, the United States must "rethink its official position" on the Nationalist government on Taiwan.

And generally speaking, say the GOP progressives, "the United States should adopt a less hostile attitude toward Communist China."

Shades of Yalta! It's that old "don't - let's - be - beastly - to - the - Soviets" routine again, now under new sponsorship. But it isn't winning as much applause this time. The American people have learned something from the past two decades, even if the young progressives haven't.

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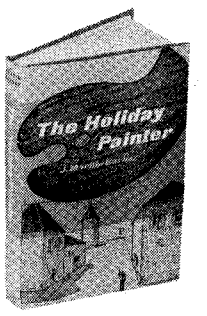

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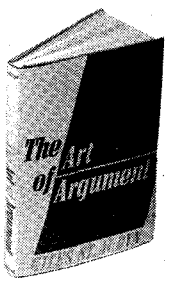

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CAPITOL CAMERA

• House Republican Leader Gerald R. Ford (Mich.) citing bomb shortages and shipping bottlenecks in Viet Nam, last week charged the Johnson Administration with "shocking mismanagement" of the war. McNamara denied any bomb shortages, but conceded the United States is buying back 5,500 older 750-pound bombs sold earlier to a West German fertilizer firm which wanted the nitrate contained in the explosive. He further conceded that one-third of the bombs were less effective World War II types which require pilots to remain longer over the target. McNamara has also denied any troop shortages, but the Pentagon recently announced it had to withdraw 15,000 Army specialists from West Germany to meet military needs in Viet Nam. The New York *Times* reports there "are shortages in clothing, illuminating rounds and certain types of fuses as well as in communications equipment." Many tanks, trucks and other automotive units, says the *Times,* are unavailable for us because of a lack of trained maintenance personnel. McNamara, however, stubbornly maintains the military establishment is in perfect shape.

FORD

• *The political situation in Viet Nam has caused alarm and even panic in certain diplomatic circles. The Buddhists, apparently, have received one of their central demands: elections in three to five months. With the leftists having developed the most powerful political organization, it is a good bet that any elected government in the near future will tilt toward neutralism. A spokesman for the united Buddhist leadership has conceded the possibility that an elected government might seek peace with the Viet Cong and removal of United States forces.*

• Peace Corps planners are thinking up a new gimmick: getting Peace Corpsmen into Communist countries and having "reverse" Peace Corpsmen from Iron Curtain countries come into the United States. Jack Vaughan, the new Peace Corps chieftain, hinted as much last week in a talk to the National Press Club. Officials at the Peace Corps emphasize this is only in the "planning" stage, but that top Corps administrators hope it may come about in the near future under the President's newly proposed International Education Act.

VAUGHAN

• *Richard N. Goodwin, a top aide to Sen. Robert Kennedy, says he's for a settlement with Hanoi which envisions "neutralization" of South Viet Nam, free elections with Communist participation and perhaps a role for the Communists in any interim government before elections.*

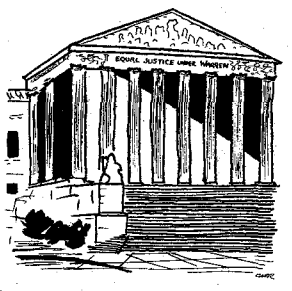
• Sen. Robert Kennedy (D.-N.Y.) says that he would describe the U.S. economy as "electric socialism" to a Latin American student—"not because that is what it is, but because to him it would describe us far more accurately than 'free enterprise system.'" Bobby, whose Latin tour last fall played into Communist hands (see *Human Events*, February 12), explained further his choice of "electric socialism" to describe this country's economic system: "Knowing virtually nothing about U.S. politics or economy, for example, most [Latin students] are deeply suspicious of 'capitalism,' which they identify only with the rapacious colonial control of their economy. They identify themselves, more than anything else, as 'Socialists,' though their 'socialism' is in fact usually less daring than the platform of the Democratic party of the United States."

KENNEDY

This Week in Washington

Dirksen's Anti-Boss Measure

The American citizen will have a real opportunity to see which lawmakers are his friends this week as Sen. Dirksen's constitutional amendment on the reapportionment of state legislatures comes up for a vote. The Dirksen measure would strike a blow against the big-city bosses and the labor union moguls who champion the spend-spend, tax-tax programs of the "Great Society." The vote, say insiders, promises to be close, though the amendment needs a two-thirds majority to pass. Dirksen came within an eyelash of winning last session.



The essence of the Dirksen proposition is simple: Each state should be permitted to decide for itself whether representation in one house in the state legislature should be based on factors other than population. This is the way the states had run their affairs since the beginning of the Republic until the Supreme Court, through some verbal legerdemain in the "one-man, one-vote decision," ruled this set-up unconstitutional and compelled the states to elect both houses of the legislature purely on a population basis.

"By judicial decree," says Dirksen, "the federal system in effect has been struck down. The traditional balance of one house based upon population apportionment and one house based upon area representation has been invalidated. . . .

" . . . if we apportion our states solely on the basis of population, the control of our states surely will be vested in the hands of the selfish few who can control the greatest blocs of votes within the greatest cities, be they party functionaries, labor leaders or other self-servers. . . . .

" . . . if these political and big-city labor leaders control the cities and the legislatures—with no option left to the people to correct abuses—then they will control the apportionment of congressional districts, the selection of delegates to our national political conventions, the exercise of election laws themselves, appointments by governors respectful of concentrated power, the functions of regulatory agencies and the whole spectrum of state legislation. . . ."

Sixty per cent of the senators want affirmative action on the measure. Thirty-two state legislatures have formally asked the Congress to act on the subject; 28 of those legislatures want a constitutional convention called if Congress fails to act. Majority support is everywhere, not only within state legislatures, but within county commissions and boards of supervisors and within city councils.

The super-liberals, however, have made it clear they're siding with the union and political bosses rather than the industrious taxpayers. They piously speak of majority rule and one man, one vote, but they've launched a major attempt to block the popular Dirksen amendment—even though they know most of the senators favor it.

Senators Joseph Tydings (D.-Md.), an appendage to Bobby Kennedy, and Paul Douglas (D.-Ill.), a one-time Socialist economist, are in the forefront of those battling the Dirksen measure. Even the usually moderate David Broder, a political reporter for the New York *Times*, has jumped in the campaign with a big blast at Dirksen and his amendment in a recent issue of the *Atlantic*.

It will be interesting to note who lines up with this radical crowd when the Dirksen measure comes up. Then the taxpayer will know friend from foe.

Red China's Steel Mill

Conservative groups in this country have become angry at West Germany for taking the lead in organizing a West European consortium which plans to sell a $150-million rolling steel mill to Communist China. Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) in Washington, for example, has not only picketed the West Germany Embassy in the Nation's Capital, but organized a boycott of Volkswagen cars, whose biggest single stockholder is the German government.

But even worse than the actions of the German government, some say, are the actions of the U.S. State Department. Secretary of State Dean Rusk finally spoke out mildly against the deal—and then only after considerable pressure from the public and certain Democrats.

Initial reaction from the department, in fact, was "guardedly favorable" according to the March 22 Baltimore *Sun*. Sen. John Pastore (D.-R.I.) and Sen. Harry Byrd (D.-Va.), both Democrats, have asked that a formal protest be sent to the German government, but last week *Human Events* learned that no formal protest will be made.

The department's Office of Asian Communist Affairs said the steel mill can be used to produce trucks and other vehicles of a military nature. But spokesmen for this section said that even this information didn't spur any opposition from the department when it was informed of the matter approximately two weeks before Rusk issued his wrist-slapping statement to the Germans.

According to the Office of Asian Affairs, in fact, the State Department gave the West Germans the green light to go ahead with the steel deal.

The department, instead of vehemently protesting the deal, encouraged the Germans by saying it was "solely for them to decide," that construction of the mill didn't violate any trade embargo and that the deal wasn't really so bad because it didn't involve any "concessional credits" (apparently long-term credits). The Germans were notified that it might create for them some unfavorable publicity, but that it was "their decision" to make and the United States wouldn't interfere.

And how, ask some Republicans, can Rusk bawl out our allies for the steel mill when he told the House Foreign Affairs Asian subcommittee in March that the United States was willing to sell foodstuffs to Red China?

Humphrey's Candidate

Vice President Hubert Humphrey's candidate for governor of Wisconsin—Democratic National Committeeman David Carley—apparently received the warmest welcome of all the speakers at that super-liberal Young Democratic convention in Manitowoc two weeks ago. So reported the Milwaukee *Sentinel* March 28.

Carley, a supporter of both Humphrey and the late Adlai Stevenson, is running against Lt. Gov. Patrick J. Lucey, who's been close to the Kennedy family since 1960. Political pundits have been heralding the Carley-Lucey fight as a sneak preview of the expected Humphrey-Kennedy presidential primary battle in 1968 or 1972.

Some former Humphrey supporters have publicly taken up Lucey's banner because Bobby appears to be hammering out a more liberal foreign policy line than Humphrey at the moment. But Carley's enthusiastic reception from the YDs indicates that Humphrey's popularity with the liberals may not have plunged so low as some believe.

The YD meeting, furthermore, was far more radical than some of the papers reported. Most of the press picked up the final resolution passed by the delegates which called for abolition of all laws restriciting sexual relations between consenting adults. But the original plank YD leaders presented to the delegates was more blunt. It said: "We favor the abolishment of laws directed toward preventing those persons who are homosexually inclined from freedom of action."

Some interpreted this to mean that YD leaders approved of homosexual assaults on minors. This sentence was finally struck, but YD delegates were assured that the more "moderate" plank that was adopted still approved of freedom for adult homosexuals.

The YDs' stand on sex, however, was probably no more radical than its original stand on Viet Nam.

The original plank called for "an immediate ceasefire in Viet Nam, a renewed moratorium in the bombing of North Viet Nam and an end to the escalation of fighting in South Viet Nam." It also demanded a "systematic policy of military de-escalation to

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demonstrate convincingly America's desire for an end to the war."

Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D.-Wis.), a supporter of Humphrey and Carley, indicated he wanted the plank to be more in line with LBJ's policy, even though Nelson, himself, has been a leading Senate dove.

After 30 minutes of debate, the delegates approved a "milder" resolution—but one still loaded with signs of appeasement. As approved, the Viet Nam plank stated there should be a beginning of withdrawal of American troops, with total withdrawal after free elections. The resolution also called for Viet Cong participation in negotiations. Nevertheless, Humphrey's man Carley appeared to be the favorite of the delegates.

• Humphrey has come under sharp criticism from fans of Lucey for allegedly helping Carley pick up some large-scale publicity, even though this publicity now seems to have backfired. Carley, who is known to have easy access to Humphrey, recently toured West Germany and Poland for five weeks as part of a State Department inspection team, though his qualifications for being on such a team could not be ascertained from the State Department. However, his political reasons for the trip were plain: Wisconsin is filled with citizens of Poland and German extraction. Carley, who received $83 per diem while traveling, sent out a press release regarding his trip, claiming there was a "direct relationship" between his trip "and my candidacy for the office of governor of Wisconsin." Carley, however, may have overplayed his hand, since Wisconsinites have been fuming over his use of this department trip for political purposes and department officials claim they are embarrassed by the incident.

LBJ's Rhodesian Blockade

Diplomatic experts are still stunned by America's most recent anti-Rhodesian maneuver: support of a United Nations Security Council resolution authorizing Britain to use force to prevent oil-bearing ships from reaching the Mozambique port of Beira. Pipeline facilities at Beira are used to transmit the oil to Rhodesia.

By supporting this resolution, American policymakers had to pervert the meaning of Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter, which can be invoked only when there are "threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression." How, it is being asked, can Rhodesia's declaration of independence from Great Britain be aptly called aggression or a threat to the peace?

The outrageous perversion of the U.N. Charter in this instance has even been noted by liberal pundit Walter Lippmann, who last week cautiously came out against the U.N. resolution.

"It is admitted, said Lippmann, "that in order to do this [invoke Charter VII] the Security Council has to stretch, to 'develop' the words of the Charter. For there can be no doubt that the British quarrel with Rhodesia is a quarrel within the British Commonwealth, or that Ian Smith's rebellion against the British crown is not an act of aggression by one sovereign state against another."

Conservative columnist Arthur Krock of the New York *Times* remarked that the "flagrant sham" of the whole U.N. operation is exposed by two other areas in the world where the threat to world peace is clear. "The government of the United States," said Krock, "has officially certified the Communist regime in Cuba as such a threat yet it has shut its eyes to the seaborne cargoes, particularly those from the U.K. and Canada which feed the Cuban economy.

"The United States is fighting and mounting the war in Viet Nam. . . . But it has not demanded U.N. sanctions for a naval blockade of allied ships, including British, whose cargoes greatly help North Viet Nam to pursue its aggression. . . .

"These inconsistencies demonstrate another which is implicit in the Council's Rhodesia resolution. It is, that the United Nations is committed to 'anti-colonialism' only when the issue is racial discrimination. For Rhodesia was annexed as a British colony in 1923 and London is treating it as a colony in attempting to dictate the terms on which self-governing Rhodesia will be granted independence." (For more on this subject see page 11.)

Tax-Paid Felons Advise Youth

James Kelleher, deputy director of public affairs for the anti-poverty program, has defended the right of local anti-poverty groups to hire persons with long criminal records, even when the crime involves sex offenses. "It might be shocking to some people," said Kelleher, "but it's a plain fact that the tough youths will respect the former criminal. . . ."

Kelleher made these amazing statements after it was pointed out that officials of the District of Columbia poverty program—the United Planning Organization (UPO)—had criminal records. One employe in a Youth Employment Counseling Center—making $8,000 a year—was hired in January 1965, though he had a record of convictions for larceny and passing worthless checks. In October 1965, while still on the UPO payroll, he was again charged with passing a worthless check.

Another employe, earning $8,650, was an Army deserter who had a record of grand larceny and forgery. Still another employe had been found guilty of a sex crime, larceny and housebreaking.

Rep. William Ayres (R.-Ohio) noted: "I know from my own experience in hiring ex-convicts in my own private business that they can be good employes. Rehabilitated criminals need the help of society, but habitual criminals should not be turned loose on our children. . . .

" . . . [T]hese are not the kind of persons we want to have counseling our young people. . . . Those are but three examples, but I must add that there are numerous similar cases on file." Ayres said further that the UPO organization was not unique in its hiring practices and that this was part of a national pattern.

Kelleher, however, said he thought it perfectly proper to pay these hoodlum-types to counsel underprivileged teen-agers. Not too long ago, it may be recalled, Kelleher was praising the anti-poverty program for financing LeRoi Jones' racist plays in Harlem.

Fulbright Scholar Peacenik

Rep. Richard Schweiker (R.-Pa.) has demanded the State Department revoke a $12,000 Fulbright scholarship to a Pennsylvania professor who has denounced U.S. intervention in Viet Nam and declared his refusal to pay his income tax.

On February 14, Dr. William C. Davidon, chairman of the Haverford College physics department, was awarded a $12,000 Fulbright-Hays grant by the State Department for research at the University of Aarhus, Denmark.

The funds for such grants are supplied by the U.S. taxpayer.

"Having accepted this grant, Prof. Davidon has now announced that he will refuse to pay federal income taxes voluntarily because he disagrees with U.S. policy and actions in Viet Nam," Schweiker revealed. "There is absolutely no reason for the United States taxpayers to finance a research grant for a man who refuses to pay the federal income taxes which he owes."

• Rep. Richard Roudebush (R.-Ind.) announced that the University of Indiana will not renew a $4,900 federal scholarship to Gaylord Guy King, the graduate student who heads the local chapter of the Communist-spawned W. E. B. DuBois Clubs (see *Human Events,* March 19, page 5). Roudebush has denounced the National Science Foundation grant and University President Elvis Starr assured the Hoosier lawmaker that it would not be renewed.

Lindsay: Good As His Word

• Now that he has been in office for 100 days, New York Mayor John Lindsay admits that it was only campaign oratory when he promised voters that he would cut salaries in his administration. 'Now I know that we made a big fuss at the beginning about taking cuts at the management level, and that two or three people did," Lindsay said recently. "However, the fact remains that if we're going to compete with other cities, we have got to increase the management level salaries, and that includes commissioners." Lindsay announced that he would seek pay hikes for top-level members of his administration. Recently appointed as one of these top officials is Bernard Klieger, Democrat Abe Beame's campaign manager in the 1965 mayoral election. Klieger will receive $19,000 a year as a consultant on fiscal affairs for the Economic Opportunity Committee, the city's anti-poverty agency.

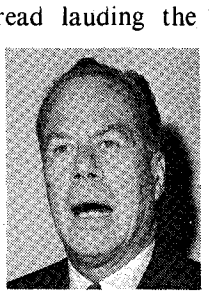
CAPITOL CAMERA

• The State Department last week reinstated two security officers fired a year ago for what the two men claimed were reprisals for their support of Otto F. Otepka, a central figure in a still-pending security case. The two are John R. Norpel and Howard J. Shea, top-ranking security specialists who fought their dismissal, won a hearing on appeal and convinced a hearing officer that they had been improperly dismissed. The hearing officer said it would be difficult to establish that their dismissals were due to reprisal, but said the department had treated them unfairly when it had initially tried to assign them to jobs which did not match their qualifications. Both men will receive back pay, but the department's vendetta has still paid off: Norpel and Shea, after their vindication, have resigned, feeling they couldn't return to their previous jobs because of the hostile atmosphere that prevailed. Thus our security operation in the State Department will be even worse off than it is at present—if that's possible.

OTEPKA

• Watts may not be the only area in the nation famous for riots—next on the list could well be Washington, D.C. Last week, Negro youths rioted at Glen Echo Amusement Park right outside the District, damaging homes, buses and automobiles. Negro leaders themselves called the vandalism inexcusable, but Negro militants are now filling the Nation's Capitol, attempting to stir up strife between the races. The gun-toting Deacons for Defense has set up headquarters in town and Julius Hobson, a vicious firebrand who heads ACT, a local civil rights group, has poured combustible fuel on the smoldering debate over "home rule" for the district. Many civil rights groups are picketing department stores unless they go along with home rule. In a recent panel debate, Hobson declared he didn't think picketing was going far enough. "Nothing is too bad for the merchants," he said, "even if it means burning their stores."

• The International Association of Machinists has put out a two-page spread lauding the records of 18 Republicans who backed repeal of Section 14b, the right-to-work provision of the Taft-Hartley Act. "These are Republicans of a new breed. . . .Their records are worthy of serious consideration by union members," says the union. The 18 Republicans are: Senators Thomas Kuchel (Calif.), John S. Cooper (Ky.), Margaret Chase Smith (Maine), Clifford Case (N.J.), Jacob Javits (N.Y.) and Hugh Scott (Penn.); and Representatives John Lindsay (now mayor of New York), Paul Fino, Seymour Halpern, Frank Horton, Ogden Reid and Alexander Pirnie, all from New York; Robert Corbett, Joseph McDade, John Saylor and Richard Schweiker, all from Pennsylvania; William Ayres of Ohio and Alvin O'Konski of Wisconsin.


KUCHEL

• Liberal commentators oohed and aahed over the "landslide victory" of British Prime Minister Wilson's Labor party in the recent elections. But as Los Angeles Times *columnist Bill Henry notes, Wilson's "landslide" was accomplished with only 47.9 per cent of the popular vote. In other words, 52.1 per cent of the British people voted against the Wilson government. Luckily for the Laborites, the "antis" split their votes among several parties.*

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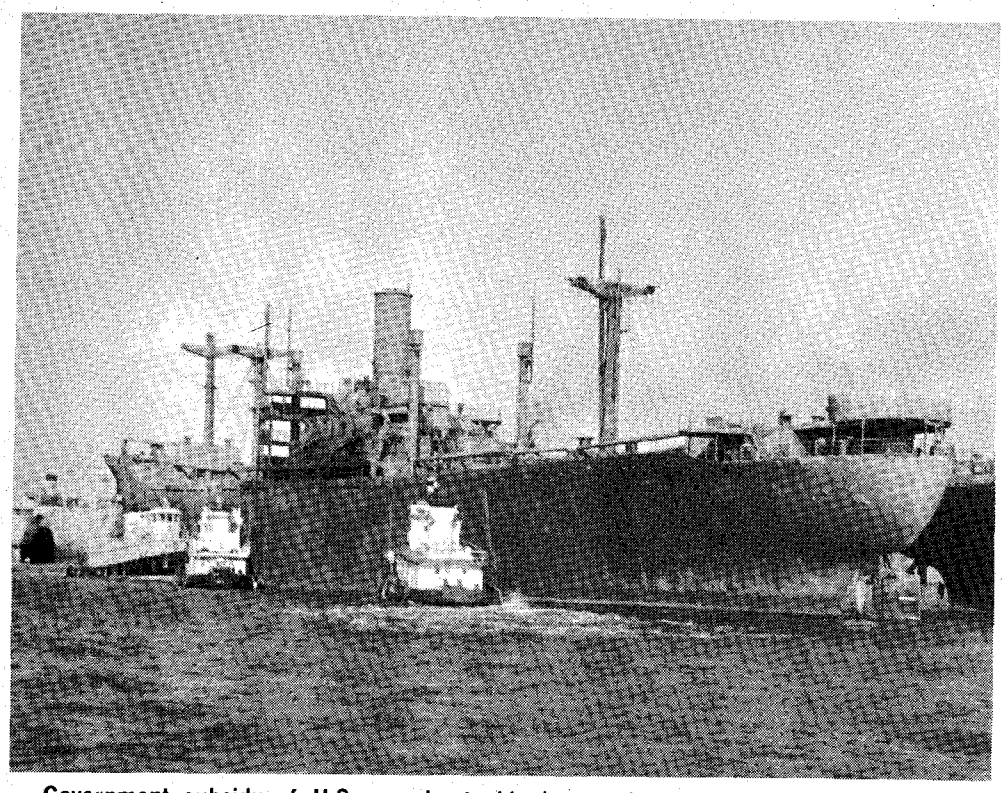

Government subsidy of U.S. merchant shipping tends to reduce management incentive to reduce operating costs, thus further increasing the burden to the taxpayer.

How Subsidies Have Weakened U.S. Merchant Marine Fleet

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Our merchant marine fleet is another crucial area of American business now suffering the disaster that inevitably befalls those who become too deeply tied up in government red tape.

That great shipping industry quite literally can be our lifeline in times of both war and peace.

When government subsidies first were offered to American-flag shipping in 1937, less than half of the eligible vessels were signed up for it. Today every ship that can qualify is getting a subsidy.

What has happened was as inevitable as anything could be. Our *shipping has drowned in a sea of* red tape. Just as that portion of American agriculture which is dominated by the government persists in being a problem to all and a nightmare to some of its practitioners, so has every portion of industry that has fallen under tight government control remained a problem in an otherwise healthy economy.

Shipping is a brilliant example. Even now there is dramatic evidence of just how badly our shipping has fared under the grip of government programs and subsidies.

English insurance underwriters have increased rates for goods shipped aboard vessels that were built during World War II or are more than 20 years old.

How is America, the land of hustling, bustling industry, affected? Well, it turns out that something on the order of 70 per cent of our American merchant ships will be hit by such an increase in insurance and, thus, stand to drop even further back in the worldwid competition for cargoes.

Imagine! In the land that stands for everything modern, our vital merchant shipping is so obsolete that it cannot even qualify for "modern" insurance rates. Even more alarming is that a good portion of our supposedly up-to-date fleet is going to become as obsolete as the other 70 per cent within the next five years.

The solution so far by the government is just to pump more subsidy money into the situation—with estimates of up to $300 million this year and by as much as $750 million a year by 1970.

On top of the red tape that already is swamping our fleet, the bureaucrats simply propose more red tape.

Actually, the cause of the crisis in our merchant shipping is precisely the sort of action that the government now wants to compound.

The highly respected National Academy of Science recently assigned its National Research Council to study the problems of American merchant shipping. Their conclusion was precise and to the point. It should be borne in mind by every American businessman, no matter his line:

"Present operating subsidy arrangements tend to remove incentive on the part of management to reduce operating costs; such arrangements contemplate that a substantial portion of increasing costs will be borne by the government without regard to the level to which these costs may rise."

Nothing could be much more clear. Subsidies are not the answer for a healthy merchant marine fleet, except as relates strictly to national defense and budgeted as a defense cost. Subsidies, with their accompanying red tape, can more often kill than cure.

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Postal Savings Demise

From the Rockford (Ill.) *Morning Star*

It is refreshing to note that occasionally a federal program is abolished. One such occasion was the recent signing by President Johnson of a bill to abolish the Postal Savings system.

Postal Savings had acquired a good deal of permanence, having been put into operation 55 years ago as a public service of the Post Office Department. But the system had long been obsolete. Patronage dwindled to a trickle as banks and savings and loan associations became easily accessible to most Americans and these institutions paid a higher rate of return on savings. The advent of savings bonds and deposit insurance offered the safety that formerly had attracted the thrifty to the Postal Savings system.

Lack of demand for the service finally overcame congressional reluctance to do away with the system. It wouldn't take much looking around for Congress to find other federal programs that have outlived their usefulness.

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On the New Morality

By MORRIE RYSKIND

A letter signed G.B.L.—typical of half-a-dozen or so—offers rebuttal to some recent columns:

"Dear Don Quixote: I get some amusement as you tilt your McKinley lance against the imaginary economic dangers that beset an intelligent welfare government. It was the laissez-faire doctrines of your beloved Horatio Alger and Adam Smith that gave us the Hoover depression and nearly brought us to the fate Rome suffered, and it took the wiser concepts of John Maynard Keynes to save us. The world has long been proven round, but you remain an anachronistic square.

"But you irk me when you play Pecksniff and prate about morality, of which you know even less. Your heavy-handed satire only shows that you have failed to recognize the revolution in sexual mores. Don't tell us how to bring up our children, please!

"Those college youngsters you gibe at are facing up to the fact that sex is perhaps the most potent force in human life, and are neither revolted by nor ashamed of it, as you seem to be. You pretend to be philosophically opposed to censorship, but you have questioned the artistic integrity of Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* and LeRoi Jones's *The Toilet*.

"So I confidently expect you to join the bluenoses who decry the Edward Kienholz exhibit at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art as pornographic. Please don't disappoint me."

Well, I'll try not to. But perhaps I had better first explain, for out-of-town readers, something about the exhibit. Whatever the artist's merit—and there is critical dispute about that—two of his works have started a ruckus here.

The first is a reproduction of a house of prostitution and features "Five Dollar Billie," on whose torso appear some four-letter words featured during the "Filthy Speech Movement" at Berkeley last year. Even the newspaper critics who praise the artist won't print these words, but to be fair, "Mom" and "Dad" are also included and even Anthony Comstock would hardly have objected to them. Besides, they are three-letter words and non-controversial.

Keinholz has explained his purpose was "to shock the viewer into considering the effect of prostitution on a young woman." But that highly ethical position is disputed by Warren Dorn, a city supervisor, who argues that "The fact that a man is an artist does not give him the right to flaunt obscenities in public."

The second controversial piece is entitled "Back Seat Dodge—'38" and "depicts a young couple in an erotic embrace." This certainly may be interpreted as just a typical commercial by a used-car dealer, and I would hope that Mr. Dorn, a Republican, does not object to advertising, which is the lifeblood of our economy.

The hassle has been temporarily settled at this writing by restricting the last two items for adult viewing, children under 18 being denied entry unless accompanied by their parents. Business at $1 a head is brisk, I am told, and undoubtedly, a lot of youngsters are behaving well on the promise they'll be taken to the exhibit if they're good.

As for my own views—since they're asked for—I still oppose censorship, but reserve the right to question what is done with taxpayers' money. But I certainly never told G.B.L. or anybody else how to bring up his children. If you want to prepare your baby for this brave new world by reading him to sleep with the "Kinsey Report," that's strictly your business. We did it with "Mother Goose" and A.A. Milne, but that doesn't mean they'll do for this new generation.

I have only one suggestion for the museum: if business is good, it can be better. I would take the best of Kienholz's didactic works—"Five Dollar Billie," "Back Seat Dodge," and perhaps a few others he may have on hand—and display them to all, regardless of age, while a guide pointed out all the moral and cultural values. Sexual education cannot begin too young, and even the six-year-olds who might miss some nuances might very well improve their spelling as they picked out the four-letter words.

Then in the back, behind a door clearly marked "No Children Unless Accompanied by Adults" and zealously guarded by the FBI, I would have a collection of less lively stuff by Gainsborough, Reynolds, Renoir and similar fuddy-duddies. All of Mr. Dorn's old fogies would go for this, and the magic word "adults" would lure many youngsters to get their parents and grandparents to take them. And it couldn't hurt them a bit.

You see, Mr. L., it isn't only Rome I'm afraid we're following. I remember reading about a couple of towns called Sodom and Gomorrah, too.

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A Car Czar?

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

Car traffic is dangerous. It costs nearly 50,000 lives a year, many times that many injuries and horrible amounts of property damage. A large part of it is avoidable.

Some people think that any problem can be solved or handled by *money* or by control. Federal bureaucrats are suggesting now that if the secretary of commerce were made dictator of automobile design, the matter would be solved.

There is no doubt that cars could be built safer, should be and will be. All it takes is for the public to demand it. The car makers are responsive to nothing like public demand.

But it is outrageous that the federal government should consider a plan to have the secretary of commerce tell all the car makers how they should design their cars, giving them a two-year "option" period, after which the appointed official's word would become final, or cars would not be allowed on the market.

Being appointed secretary of commerce doesn't make anybody a safety expert or always right. It is fine for anybody and everybody to speak up in critical comment about automotive safety, to educate the public, to stimulate consumer demand and manufacturer provision of safety features. But to have an automobile design czar would be atrocious. And it wouldn't solve the biggest problem—the nut that holds the wheel.

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SEN. ROBERT C. BYRD (D.-W.Va.) recently told the Senate that unless the courts begin dealing more realistically with criminals, it will become increasingly difficult to recruit good men for the police. "We have reached an anomalous situation in America when courts of justice appear to be obstructing justice," Byrd said. "Little wonder that many citizens hesitate to go to the aid of the police or to the aid of other persons in times of danger. The criminal has the upper hand. The scales appear to be weighed in his favor. Why take a chance of getting involved?"

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Bureaucrats Know: 'The Big Money Is in Poverty'

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

President Lyndon Johnson has told American businessmen to cut back on any expansion programs they might have planned. Expansion, he says, means added employment, and added employment will increase the inflationary spiral now hurting our economy.

But the President doesn't practice what he preaches. The federal government added 91,582 employes to its payroll in the last calendar year. If the Administration had reduced its rolls of those who, by the very nature of a government bureaucracy, produce nothing, it would not be necessary now to put a lid on a capital investment program of long-range value to the nation.

The biggest increases in the federal Establishment are being marked up by the new politicalized agencies, and with an election coming up, this is understandable. These new agencies, however, are doing mighty little to earn their pay. In fact, it may be said of them that never have so many done so little for so much money in the history of the Republic.

This is particularly true of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the high command for the "poverty war" and other skirmishes.

"The word has gotten out among civil servants in Washington that 'the big money is in poverty,'" Rep. William H. Ayres of Ohio says, "but few know how big it is." The OEO will account for 6,484 people—2,350 directly and the rest on its payroll but working for other federal agencies—to the tune of $53.5 million. This may not sound like very much, but the OEO's table of organization calls for more chiefs than Indians. OEO director Sargent Shriver's administrative staff will eat up almost half the payroll.

Of those on the direct payroll of OEO's Washington and regional offices, nearly one-half will draw $10,619 a year apiece; 515 will receive over $14,600 each; more than 54 will receive $19,600; 24 will get at least $25,000, and five will get more than the $26,000 now being paid to the U.S. commissioner of education. Taking in the entire budget, 1,557 "poverty" employes will be in the over-$10,619 class.

Employes at the 15 Job Corps camps are being paid more than $10,000 a year. Furthermore, as Mr. Ayres has noted, 1,032 employes of local "community action" programs are being paid $10,000 a year and up, with 200 of them getting in excess of $15,000 apiece.

Looking at it another way, 25 of Mr. Shriver's "poverty" legion will be receiving more than the base pay of Gen. William C. Westmoreland, the U.S. commander in the Vietnamese war. And 36 of these bureaucrats will be drawing more than Astronaut Neil A. Armstrong, a federal civil employe, gets for the arduous training and dangerous mission to which he is assigned.

"This," says Rep. Ayres, "is nothing less than a scandal." Even more scandalous is what he calls the "fantastic leakage of funds intended to help the poor."

It is one of Washington's more open and more sordid secrets that OEO's mismanagement of funds has brought little aid to the poor while bringing unheard-of prosperity to the thousands able to make their way to its overflowing money trough.

In another time, Congress would have had its investigative teams out, gathering the facts and calling to the stand those responsible for this raid on the treasury. But the OEO is President Johnson's baby and one of the "Great Society's" most publicized programs. Though efforts have been made by Democrats and Republicans both to assess the "poverty" program and to bring an end to its waste and extravagance, they have been thwarted by the White House and its "leadership" on Capitol Hill.

This is shortsighted on the part of the Administration. As each day goes by, the abuses are compounded. Eventually, there will be a day of reckoning. By that time, however, the President will have a real Truman Era mess on his hands. And the taxpayer, hit by rising taxes, will be that much more upset.

Feeding at the public trough is an old bureaucratic custom, but even the most cynical politician draws the line at filling that trough with caviar.

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San Antonio Youth Corps Runs Registration Drive

A federally financed Neighborhood Youth Corps in San Antonio, Tex., has conducted a massive voter registration drive that adds significantly to liberal Democratic strength in the area.

The campaign was organized by the Rev. John Yanta, the NYC director who freely admits the new voters are controlled by the Bexar County Liberal Coalition. Father Yanka thinks this is fine.

"Which is worse, not to have ever voted or to have your vote controlled?" he asks. "The liberal Democrats may be the only politicians interested in these people."

Not all voters signed up are U.S. citizens, however. Bexar County Tax Assessor-Collector Charles G. Davis reports that at least 68 of those induced to register were Mexican nationals ineligible to vote in this country. One of these aliens, he says, is now in county jail charged with assault with intent to murder.

Elsewhere on the poverty front:

• The executive director of the Tampa (Fla.) anti-poverty project, Frank Richardson, has resigned his post, disillusioned with "the direction the program is taking." Richardson added: "I resent terribly all of this talk about all of the money there is in Washington. It is our money coming back to us greatly diluted."

• The Detroit *News* reports that a $25,000 "anti-poverty" loan was awarded a woman who drives a white 1965 Lincoln Continental and who has a combined annual income with husband of more than $11,000. The woman's husband, who co-signed the loan, has been "seriously delinquent" on another federal loan issued by the Federal Housing Authority.

• The co-chairman of New York's highly touted Project Headstart has quit, charging that delay, inefficiency and "chaos" are endangering the program. The liberal New York *Post* quoted another Headstart worker as denouncing the federal and city bureaucrats who oversee the program: "The idiocy and stupidity of these people is beyond belief."

• Rep. William Ayres (R.-Ohio), ranking Republican on the House Education and Labor Committee, reported the Washington, D.C., anti-poverty agency is "riddled with employes with long records of serious crimes." United Planning Organization staffers have criminal records ranging from "narcotics violations and sex crimes to armed robbery," Ayres said.

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REP. JOHN SAYLOR (R.-Pa.) has figured out one way for the federal government to save some money: Stop subsidizing federal power. Recent statements of the comptroller general on the Southwest Power Administration (SWPA) reveal that SWPA has incurred a net loss of some $75 million and that it is purposely selling power to favored cooperatives at a loss. Saylor's remedy: Compel SWPA to up its rates or renegotiate co-op contracts. "Only in this way," says Saylor, "can SWPA contribute to a reduction in the magnitude of the federal budget deficit."

'New Left' Reprints

Phillip Luce, once a prominent and controversial figure on the radical left, has now become a symbol of resistance to left-wing excesses. In the past few months he has contributed three penetrating articles to our pages, first on the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, followed by one on Prof. Staughton Lynd, and most recently on the "Days of Protest." These three articles have inspired so much reader interest that we have collected them into a single, four-page reprint. To order, see our reprint coupon on page 10.

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Was Formosa Betrayed?

By ROY E. JAMES

Formosa Betrayed is one of those intemperate and accusatory books which are helping to create the rising pressures for a "reshaping" of our China policy. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., it was written by George H. Kerr, a war-time Naval reserve officer and a former State Department official with two periods of service in Formosa.

As one might surmise from the title, the book expounds the fatuous proposition that the return of Formosa—called Taiwan by the Chinese—to Nationalist China at the close of World War II was a betrayal of the island and its people. To make sure you don't miss the point, the book's dust jacket features a luridly colored dagger piercing the word "Formosa" and carries a sentence describing the book as "A report on the terrible consequences of the Nationalist Chinese occupation and American neglect of this strategic island."

A summary on the dust jacket flaps speaks of the post-war hopes of Formosans for "guaranteed neutrality under American or international trusteeship" and alleges, instead, that the Formosans were "delivered over" to a "horde" of Chinese from the mainland.

Kerr's Many Errors

While much of the press has managed to shower it with favorable publicity, the book is largely an updated rehash of two articles the author had published in 1947 in *Far Eastern Survey* —a magazine of the discredited Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR). For those who may not recall, the IPR became the central funnel for pro-Mao, anti-Chiang Kai-shek propaganda in the United States. It was this "educational" institution which helped spread the myth that Mao and the Communists were nothing more than agrarian reformers.

The author's sincere and genuine feeling for native-born Formosans is not questioned. But that his book does them a disservice by giving aid and comfort to the Chinese Communists who desire to take over Formosa should be noted.

The book is heavily weighted against Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist regime on Formosa; because of that it will be reproduced and enlarged upon for anti-Chiang, anti-Chinese Nationalist and even anti-American propaganda purposes. It has already been used by those who seem to have far less feelings for a policy of protecting the Formosans from Communist tyranny than they do for a soft-on-China policy.

Indeed, it is intriguing to discover that the foreword is written by Prof. Robert A. Scalapino, who has always favored a softening of our policies toward Red China and recently said so as a "witness" before the Fulbright hearings.

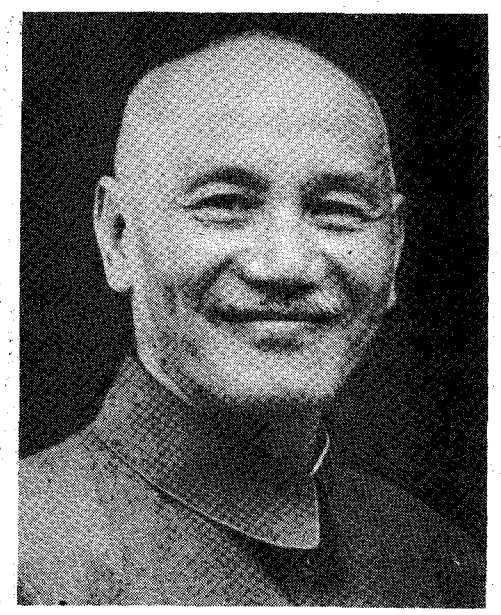
Dr. Scalapino, who endorses Kerr's savage assaults against the Nationalist regime, will be recalled as the principal author of the Northeast Asia Section of the 1959 Conlon Report, sponsored by Sen. Fulbright's Foreign Relations Committee. In his report, Dr. Scalapino counseled withdrawal of the Chinese Nationalists from the forward islands; i.e., abandonment of Quemoy and Matsu to the Chinese Communists.

In a pamphlet, *New Perspectives on Northeast Asia*, published in 1961, Prof. Scalapino advances the notion that Communist China be admitted to the United Nations and handed the seat now occupied by the Chinese Nationalists. And Formosa, he suggested, might be neutralized under a U.N. trusteeship, to be followed by a plebiscite. To this writer's knowledge, he has not offered the corresponding suggestion for a plebescite in Red China to determine the popular will of the people.

Such is the genesis of *Formosa Betrayed* and such are its champions.

It is difficult to understand the book's favorable reception in many quarters, riddled as it is with distortions and inaccuracies. The author suggests that Formosa is a military dictatorship which is impervious to civilian control or influence. He totally disregards the situation at the local level where civilians hold the vast majority of elected positions. Even on the national government level it is significant to note that in March 1966 the National Assembly elected as Vice President Yen Chia-kan, an economist who would become the acting president of Formosa if Chiang died.

The author relates that Gan Kin-en (Yen Chin-hsien) was "seized and killed"

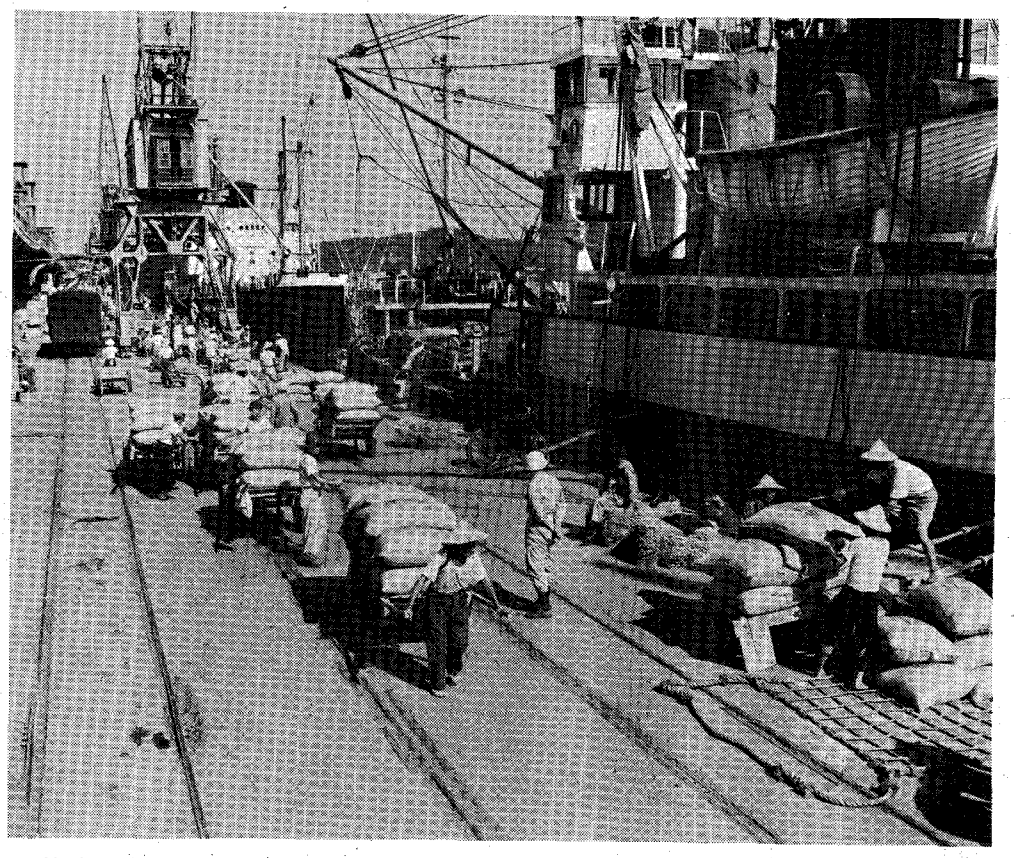


During the Korean War, the fallacy of the anti-Chiang Kai-shek propaganda became obvious.

in March 1947 for his opposition to the Chinese Nationalists. As in the case of Mark Twain, reports of Gan's death have been greatly exaggerated. Gan is very much alive and kicking and his coal-mining business in Taiwan has grown and prospered.

Kerr concludes that the younger Formosans in exile did not rally to the support of Thomas Liao's Independent Formosan movement, based in Japan, because it invoked the image of a "dubious" Formosan hero, Koxinga. Anyone who has been to Formosa should know that Koxinga, a 17th Century Chinese who battled the Manchus and set up a last-ditch resistance government on Formosa, has had temples and shrines erected in his honor all over the island and to this very day is remembered and revered—even worshipped by some of the simpler folk.

It apparently did not dawn on the author that perhaps Formosans did not care to rally to Liao's movement because the Formosans are generally



Under the Nationalist government the Formosan economy is thriving. The island enjoys the second highest standard of living in Asia, exceeded only by that of Japan.

satisfied with the way things are in Formosa or because they themselves are Chinese and do not wish to sever their historical ties to China. After 18 years of exile, Liao himself has returned to Formosa, deserting his independence movement in Japan.

Remarks Liao: "My decision to dissolve my movement came when I learned of the remarkable changes the Nationalists had wrought in my home island. I got a new view of Chiang; now I want to work with him."

Kerr's central error involves his dubious thesis that the Formosans are somehow not Chinese—a contention that does not stand up under any critical examination. In his rather lopsided presentation of facts, the author suggests that in 1944 some wicked—and unnamed—"China Firsters" prevailed upon President Truman not to reopen the "China question" nor bar the return of Formosa to China, then ruled by the Nationalists. But China's claim to Formosa is far from spurious.

Historic Connection

In 605 A.D. Chinese navigator Ho Man reached Formosa, then inhabited by fierce, headhunting aborigines, and claimed it in the name of the Sui dynasty. Formosa officially became a protectorate of the Chinese empire in 1206, though it was not until the 14th and 15th Centuries that colonizers from the southern provinces of China began to settle the island in large numbers, bringing Chinese culture with them.

In 1682, when the Manchu dynasty was firmly installed, the Chinese on Formosa recognized the suzerainty of the Manchu emperors and it became administratively part of the Chinese coastal province of Fukien.

It remained under Chinese rule until the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5 when Japan wrested it from China. At the wartime Cairo Conference in 1943, China, the United States and Great Britain agreed that "all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China."

In spite of 50 years of Japanese rule, the people of Formosa are thoroughly Chinese in language, culture, religion and race. The only remnants of the non-Chinese population of Taiwan are some 150,000 aborigines who still inhabit the isolated mountain regions. According to reliable estimates, about four-fifths of the Chinese of Taiwan are island-born descendants of *mainland Chinese* who emigrated from Fukien and Kwantung provinces chiefly between the 16th and 19th Centuries.

Here is what Thomas Liao says on this subject in a letter to the New York *Times* "Book Review Section" on March 27:

" . . . I wish to take issue with both George H. Kerr's book, *Formosa Betrayed* and Robert Trumbull's review of it in the January 23 issue.

"Although a man whom Mr. Trumbull considers 'one of the foremost experts on Taiwan,' Mr. Kerr does not even speak our language nor does he read Chinese. His contention that we are not Chinese . . . cannot be further from truth. The fact is that the people on Taiwan are ethnically, historically Chinese. Our people speak two Chinese dialects: about 70 per cent of them use Amoy, or the dialect of southern Fukien Province, and the remaining 30 per cent speak the Hakka dialect of northeastern Kwangtung Province. . . . This is a fact which indicates [Kerr's] superficial knowledge of Taiwan and her inhabitants."

Hardly surprising, then, that President Truman could be prevailed upon to support Chiang and have Formosa returned to China's rule following the war!

Those who talk of independence or trusteeship for Formosa are, in fact, recommending a "two-Chinas" solution—a solution which both Mao and Chiang reject and which flies in the face of history.

Koxinga, the only person to set up an independent Formosa regime in modern times, still professed loyalties to a regime on the mainland—the Ming dynasty. In short, the idea of a Formosan regime independent of mainland China has no deep historic roots.

Thus it is an egregious error to say the United States "betrayed" Formosa by returning it to the Republic of China, then under the Nationalist regime. It might be argued by some that, inasmuch as Formosa has been linked historically with the mainland, it should be reunited with the mainland. Such may

(Continued on next page)

Mr. James is a Washington attorney in private practice, a captain in the U.S. Naval Reserve (Ret.) and a former Foreign Service Reserve Officer with service in Formosa. In 1944 he attended the U.S. Navy's School of Military Government and Administration at Columbia University and received training for military government of Formosa. At that time the author of Formosa Betrayed *was attached to the school. Subsequently, along with the author of* Formosa Betrayed, *Mr. James was ordered to the staff of the U.S. Naval School of Military Government at Princeton University, where hundreds of officers returned from the war in Europe were trained for the expected occupation of Formosa. When the decision was made to by-pass Formosa these officers were scattered over the Pacific Ocean area. Few, if any, ever got to Formosa—"Island X" as it was known in classified material. In 1959 Mr. James was named deputy director of the U.S. Mutual Security Mission to Formosa and spent about three years administering the U.S. economic assistance program for the island. Since his return to private life he has continued his interest in Formosa and in China affairs. (For more details see:* Who's Who in America.)

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An Asian expert upholds America's support of the Nationalist government

be the fate of Formosa "in the long sweep of history," but there is no American of sound mind who wishes to turn over 12 million free Chinese and their prosperous and viable economy to Mao's murderous Red regime to be used against the cause of freedom.

The author of *Formosa Betrayed* errs again when he speaks of the first half of the 15-year U.S. economic aid program as the "Seven Fat Years" for the Nationalist Chinese who "needed no reminder that one of the best-loved American saints is Santa Claus; but the Formosans think he is something of a fraud." The author suggests that our assistance program was a hand-out of goodies to the mainlanders but not to the Formosans. This accusation is nonsense.

There may have been isolated instances of favoritism here and there, but there certainly was no widespread and deliberate discrimination against Formosans in the administration of the aid program. Let it suffice to point out that Formosa today, partly but not solely as a result of U.S. economic assistance, enjoys the second highest standard of living in Asia, next only to that of Japan; education is free for all up to and even including those who go to college; 97 per cent of the island's children are in attendance in free public schools; food and consumer goods are plentiful and inexpensive; 85 per cent of Formosa's farmers own their own land—and the overwhelming majority of these farmers are native Formosans, not mainlanders.

Strong Economy

Formosa, moreover, is rapidly industrializing. Factories are popping up with ever increasing frequency. Since 1945, when Formosa was returned to China, the island has experienced a phenomenal industrial development. There were only two cotton mills on the island in 1945. By 1964, 24 mills were producing 111 million pounds of cotton yarn, 265 million yards of cloth, 6.4 million pounds of woolen yarn and 31 million yards of synthetic fabrics. The garment, cement, wood products and other light industries have mushroomed.

The clincher that economic progress abounds is that Formosa is one of the few countries that has "graduated" from our foreign aid program. Economic assistance to Formosa was halted last July 1 because, as U.S. aid officials proudly boast, it is no longer needed.

None of this is to deny one of Kerr's major points; that Nationalist Chinese troops severely mistreated the Chinese living on Formosa in 1947. But there are some mitigating reasons that Kerr fails to mention.

Chiang's army was collapsing on the mainland—partly due to America's gradual withdrawal of aid. When the mainlanders poured into Formosa, tensions were aroused and resistance was harshly suppressed.

After the initial period of adjustment the Nationalists have diligently tried to rectify this mistake. In the light of the 20-year period of Nationalist rule, instead of condemning Chiang, one should be hailing him for bringing both economic prosperity and political stability to the island.

For some years now American access to Formosa has been regarded as essential to the national interests of the United States in the Far East. This does not require an assumption of sovereignty over the island, nor even its occupation by American forces. It is sufficient that the island has a stable government friendly to the United States.

Americans should think twice, therefore, before opening up old wounds and stirring up anti-government resentments among the Formosans. Neither should we exacerbate the lingering anti-Chiang Kai-shek and anti-Chinese Nationalist suspicions which were so heavily purveyed among us in the 1940s and 1950s when the fate of China was in the balance.

Let it be remembered that early in 1950, after years of acrimonious debate in which charges of incompetence, corruption and oppression by the Nationalist Chinese were the principal ingredients, the United States mistakenly withdrew its support of the Nationalist Chinese government and abandoned Formosa to its fate, even though that fate was known to mean a Communist take-over.

Suddenly, in June 1950, when we found ourselves in the Korean War, the strategic value of Formosa became apparent; the dump-Chiang and abandon-Formosa policy was abruptly reversed; the 7th Fleet was ordered into the Formosa Straits and the United States interposed itself to protect the island from an impending Communist assault. In addition, a program of both military and economic assistance was set in motion to strengthen the island and make it available to the United States.

Today we are involved in another hot war on the Asian mainland, this one to the south of Formosa. This is a war much like the Korean War, in that Communist China considers her security and national interests involved. It is a war which threatens to "escalate"—and the strategic importance of Formosa in terms of the national interest of the United States should again be apparent.

The modern airfields which were laid down on Formosa with U.S. assistance, the harbor and port facilities of Formosa which have been modernized and enlarged with U.S. assistance and the island's transportation and communications systems which have been brought up to date with U.S. assistance are now available to us.

The government which we have assisted through the years is firmly on our side, the social and economic infrastructure is viable and strong and, even more important, the people at large, Formosans and mainlanders, like Americans and are with us in the cause for which we fight. The take-off and landing of every American plane from Formosan airfields; the arrival and departure of every American ship; even the rest and recreation which our war-weary troops enjoy in Formosa—all attest to the wisdom of the policies which kept Formosa from falling to Communist China.

Surely now is not the time to stir up new strife between mainlanders and Formosans; surely now is not the time to call for a "neutralist" Formosa under U.N. trusteeship. Policies of this sort—which undoubtedly would weaken or topple the current stable government—would only make Formosa more vulnerable to Communist intrigue and power. That would be the greatest betrayal of all.

Taiwan farmers prepare to ship newly harvested rice to market. Formosans are proud of the fact that their economy is so good they no longer receive American economic assistance.

Again, hear the words of Mr. Liao: "Mr. Kerr has not been in Taiwan since the late '40s. In the last eight months I have seen with my own eyes the miraculous transformation of Taiwan from an agricultural land to the threshold of an industrial society. In the long run, a government can only be judged on what it has accomplished for the social and economic well-being of its people. Even the [New York] *Times* in its annual economic review of Asia, spoke of Taiwan as 'the only bright spot' in an otherwise bleak picture. On what basis, then, [rests the] conclusion that this government, with Taiwanese participation which is responsible for this progress, should be condemned?"

And what about political progress? Veteran Asian correspondent Keyes Beech writes in a recent article in the *Reader's Digest*: "Political progress has been greater than Chiang's overseas critics care to admit. True, Chiang's control at the top national level is complete and inflexible. Yet the Provincial Assembly is broadly representational and elected by popular vote. Of its 74 members, 68 are native Taiwanese. Provincial and local elections are free and lively, with an average of 76 per cent of the voters exercising their franchise. And while the Chinese press lacks complete freedom, several newspapers do keep the government under constant fire."

Ridgway Enclave Plan Repeats Korean Mistakes

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

In the April 5 issue of *Look* magazine, Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, former Army chief of staff and supreme commander of the allied powers in Europe, offers some advice on the war in Viet Nam. Because of his forthright honesty and moral courage, his views deserve careful attention.

However, the substance of his recommendations is vague. Gen. Ridgway says we must limit the war in Viet Nam, but his only suggestion of how to do this is his endorsement of the Gavin enclave strategy. He bitterly condemns a plan—once considered in Washington—for the abandonment of South Korea after the Communist Chinese intervention: "To have left them to the vengeance of the Communists would have been an infamous betrayal." Yet he seems unaware that his enclave proposal could have no other consequence for South Viet Nam.

He would like to have civilian leaders devise a policy which would protect South Viet Nam, limit the war and provide limited objectives for military operations. So would President Johnson!

Gen. Ridgway apparently thinks the Korean War was managed just about right. He seems to be trying for a similar solution in Viet Nam. He would like to hold South Viet Nam and seek peace, but he knows the boundary between north and south cannot be stabilized as long as we allow the enemy sanctuary in Laos and Cambodia. Committed to allowing sanctuary, he can only fall back to hold the coastal bases. What would have happened in South Korea if the United States had limited its support to holding Pusan and Seoul?

It is shocking that a man of Gen. Ridgway's stature can still defend U.S. policy toward Manchuria after history has so clearly exposed its disastrous consequences. He thinks it was prudent and wise of the United States to allow sanctuary to the Chinese Communists, although this decision cleared the way for Peking's intervention and multiplied our casualties four-fold.

The most damaging aspect of the Ridgway treatise is his tacit acceptance of the left-wing propaganda that the danger of escalation into nuclear war lies in U.S. initiative. This talk is poppycock. The most positive action proposed by men like Generals Curtis LeMay and Mark Clark is to punish North Viet Nam sufficiently to make it stop attacking the south. They support the President's stated objective. Gen. Ridgway's enclave strategy does not. It is irresponsible to treat the LeMay-Clark proposals as implying "the complete subjection of the outside world to American domination."

Gen. Ridgway is one of the finest battlefield commanders this country ever produced. That is why Gen. MacArthur asked for him for the invasion of Japan and later to lead the 8th Army in Korea. But like many other American soldiers, Gen. Ridgway concentrated his professional study on the battlefield. He is simply uninformed in matters of grand strategy.

In his memoirs published a decade ago, Gen. Ridgway described how surprised and puzzled he was, while serving as Army vice chief of staff, by Stalin's 1950 attack on South Korea. From his own confession, his comprehension of international politics could only be classified as rudimentary.

Those who have long admired Ridgway the Soldier will regret that he has lent his name to a military philosophy which accommodates the expansion of communism with false fears of the consequences of U.S. military power properly exercised.

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Buddhist Monk Not So 'Enigmatic'

Thich Tri Quang: Power-Hungry Demagogue

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Although it would be foolish to be dogmatic from a point 8,000 miles away about anything that goes on in South Viet Nam, one is legitimately troubled by the recurrence of a certain pattern every time the South Vietnamese Buddhists, or a minority sect thereof, attempt to overthrow a government in the midst of a war that should be all-demanding.

There is the behavior of the politically potent monk, the string-puller Thich Tri Quang, for one thing. Everybody calls Tri Quant "enigmatic," which means that nobody wants to tab him as a Communist sympathizer despite factual evidence that, as the late Marguerite Higgins reported, he was twice arrested by the French colonial office for dealings with the Red, Ho Chi Minh, and once served with Communist-front groups working with Comrade Ho's Viet Minh army.

It was Thich Tri Quang, so one recalls, who, from his headquarters in the Xa Loi Pagoda in Saigon, marshalled the gruesome procession of "suicides"-by-burning in order to turn the West against the government of the late President Diem. Miss Higgins, at the end of one of her Vietnamese stays in which she brought her absolute honesty to bear on the Orient, which she knew so well, wrote that Tri Quang wanted "Diem's head, and not on a silver platter but wrapped in an American flag." It surprised her that he eventually got it, and with the aid of American co-conspirators.

This time, as I write, Tri Quang is credited with wanting a power position in any and all future South Vietnamese governments. Now, it could be that the Buddhists should have a controlling place inside any representative South Viet Nam civil government. But Tri Quang himself is the leader of only one of a number of Buddhist sects, most of which are entirely non-political. Moreover, Buddhists of all types constitute only a third of the South Vietnamese population, the rest being Confucianists, Catholics, Animists, Taoists, Hindus, Muslims, devotees of the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao religions, and even a scattering of Mennonites and Baptists. So why Thich Tri Quang should be accepted as Warwick, the King-Maker, in South Viet Nam, is a mystery, at least from the nose-counter's standpoint.

The demagogic monk, who preserves an owlish silence when he is asked to state his positive political beliefs, is obviously power-intoxicated, and such men, like Cassius of the lean and hungry look, are dangerous whether or not they are Communist sympathizers.

Our ambassador to South Viet Nam, Henry Cabot Lodge, helped Thich Tri Quang on two separate occasions in the past. In September 1963 he saved Tri Quang from the wrath of President Diem by giving him asylum in the U.S. Embassy. Later, he, along with the Kennedy Administration, acquiesced in Tri Quang's demands that Diem must go. But on the third time around Lodge decided to stand by the Ky government despite the warning from Tri Quang that the Buddhists must be admitted to power.

A South Vietnamese friend of mine who has served his country in Washington, and who made his last trip home a little over a year ago, tells me that Lodge's "reversal of his old behavior" will result in a sudden agitation for his removal as ambassador. It will be interesting to see whether this prediction comes true or not.

My friend also tells me that the real target of the Tri Quang group is Nguyen Van Thieu, who has been the strongly anti-Communist "board chairman" in the Ky government. This is ominous, for it might portend a take-over in South Viet Nam by "neutralists" who will ultimately do the bidding of the Communists.

My South Vietnamese friend, who is critical of the behavior of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency people in Saigon and the surrounding countryside, doesn't like the looks of things at all. He distrusts the way in which Vice President Humphrey slipped over into a near-agreement with Bobby Kennedy on the issue of Viet Cong participation in the Saigon government, "after elections." He doesn't think our Maj. Gen. Edward Lansdale, who was supposed to solve the problem of democratizing the Vietnamese countryside, is making a go of it. These are harsh thoughts, but they are those of a responsible patriot, so I am keeping my fingers crossed.

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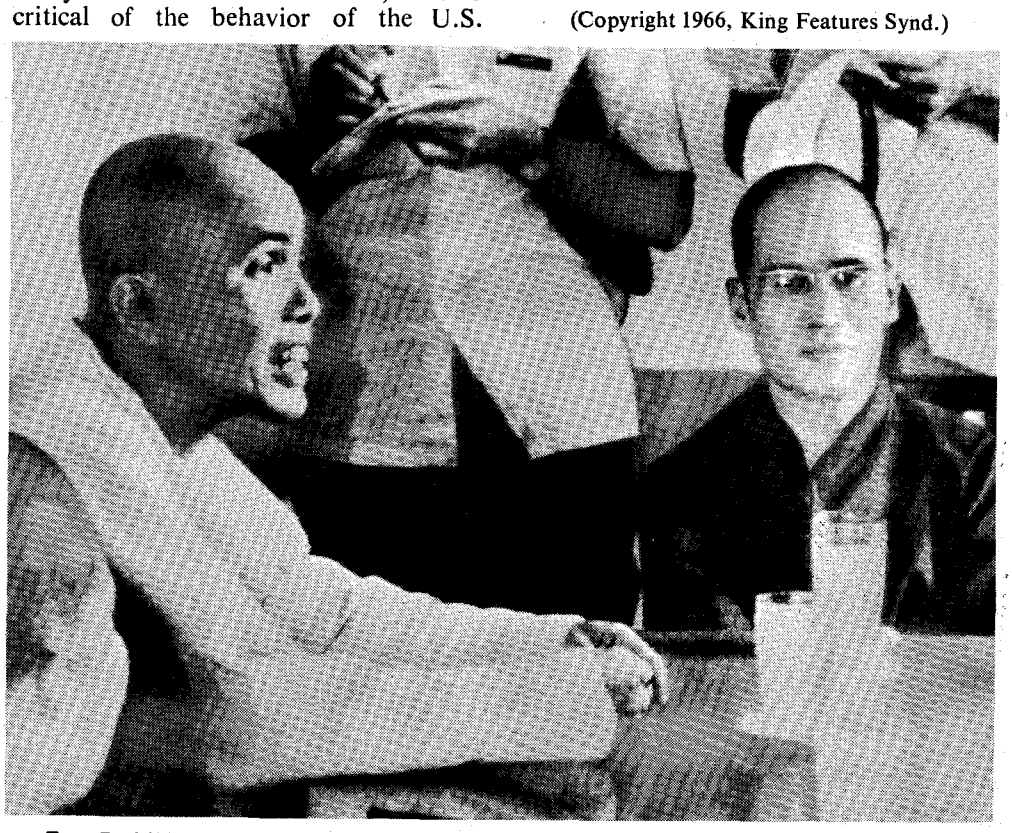

Top Buddhist leaders Thich Tri Quang (left), and Thich Tam Chau, at a Saigon meeting last week, called for an elected civilian government to replace the military junta headed by Nguyen Cao Ky.

'Do as I Say, Not as I Do' Is Lindsay Motto

By VICTOR LASKY

Rarely has a politician been placed in a more embarrassing position. And rarely has a politician found himself so completely at a loss for words.

And all because the other day a 16-year-old high school reporter, Louise E. Ketzman, asked Mayor John V. Lindsay this question: "Mr. Lindsay, why don't you permit your own children to attend public schools instead of private schools?"

The mayor, his face reddening, grappled for words. But nothing comprehensible was uttered. Finally, to end the torture, a board of educational official leaped to the rescue with some double talk which failed to satisfy the questioner.

And the meeting of high school reporters was quickly terminated.

But what has not been terminated is a growing resentment among New Yorkers towards politicans who fail to practice what they preach. Mr. Lindsay, a liberal Republican, has long been in the vanguard of those who insist on "integrating" the public schools even if that means destroying the neighborhood school concept.

But, at the same time, Mr. Lindsay's children are enrolled in expensive private schools which, for the most part, are lily white.

Most New Yorkers are unable to afford private schools for their children. Rightly or wrongly, they believe that current efforts to "integrate" the public schools are lowering educational standards. And these people are pleading with the powers-that-be against making their children subjects of what they term "sociological experiments."

Politicians of both parties are equally guilty, they claim. Bobby Kennedy, for example, is a prime example of ambivalence in this area. Not one of his numerous progeny has been enrolled in any of New York City's public schools, despite the fact that the senator is constantly sounding off on civil rights.

One wonders what Sen. Kennedy's response will be when an eagerbeaver high school reporter, acting in the highest traditions of journalism, asks him this question:

"Mr. Kennedy, why don't you permit your own children to attend public schools instead of private schools?"

Perhaps Arthur Schlesinger Jr., one of Sen. Kennedy's intimate friends, has already prepared the answer. It should be interesting.

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DEMOCRATS' TROUGH – The Indianapolis *News* has disclosed still another instance in which the anti-poverty program has become a trough for influential Democrats. In Miami, Jack Gordon, a prominent local Democrat and friend of Hubert Humphrey, has his wife on the poverty payroll at $50 a day. Gordon's sister-in-law is an anti-poverty "planning and directing assistant" at $9,350 a year. Two campaign workers in Gordon's school board race are on at $8,000 and $6,000 a year. Says the *News*: "That sort of performance is not untypical of the 'War on Poverty' all across the country. Loudly ballyhooed as a program aimed toward helping those less fortunate, its major success has been in fattening the wallets of faithful Democrats."

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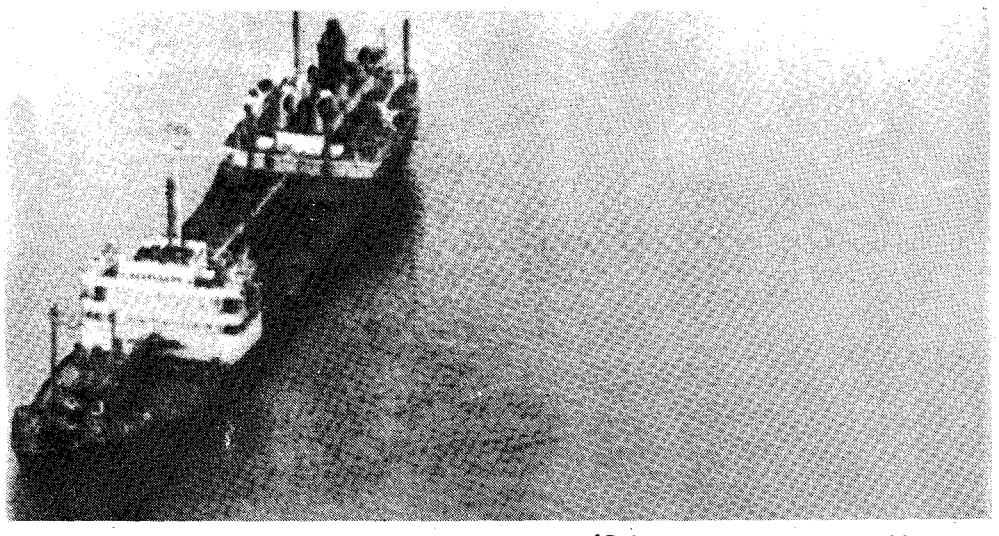

The Greek tanker Ioanna V steams toward the port of Beira in Portuguese Mozambique with 12,000 tons of fuel for Ian Smith's Rhodesia.

Blockade Against Rhodesia

Mr. Wilson's Power Play

By IRENE CORBALLY KUHN

Now that Britain's Labor government is safely in power with a solid majority, Prime Minister Harold Wilson has come out from behind the barrel where he's been hiding from the Rhodesian problem since November. He has begun to shake a large British fist at everybody and everything assisting the former British colony to maintain its independence.

A great many cherished traditions have already been done in; the centuries-old friendship of Britain and Portugal is threatened. Man's ingenuity is at work on both sides. The determination of Rhodesia to retain her independence and not knuckle under to British-imposed economic sanctions is being tested in the United Nations. That body is changing rules to suit the game.

Nations sympathetic to Rhodesia, or at least opposed to Britain's using force to bring Rhodesia down, resent Britain's interference with tankers carrying oil to Rhodesia.

Once Britain championed freedom of the seas. But, like all such terms, this is relative and depends entirely on whose freedom is gored. When the Greek tanker Ioanna V headed up the Mozambique Channel from the Indian Ocean to drop anchor at the Portuguese East African port of Beira, two miles from the Mozambique end of the 189-mile pipe line to the refinery at Umtalia, Rhodesia, there was hell to pay.

The master of the ship had shrugged off instructions from a British frigate not to proceed to Beira. Now, Athens, Lisbon, London, the United Nations and the United States are involved. Greece cooperated with Britain by striking the ship off the Greek register.

Even so, a second Greek tanker, the *Manuela*, followed the *Ioanna* and steamed through the Mozambique Channel with British warships trailing her. At this point Great Britain called for a meeting of the U.N. Security Council, to consider a resolution authorizing the use of force to stop ships from delivering oil to Rhodesia.

But Moussa Leo Keita, of Mali, U.N. Security Council president for April, ignored his responsibility to act promptly and in a neutral manner. He kept 10 free world nations waiting for 48 hours while he took the unprecedented and irregular step of consulting with fellow Africans.

With a ludicrous lack of dignity, Britain and the United States staged a futile sit-in. Then they appealed to Secretary General U Thant. No action.

Keita didn't call the meeting until he was good and ready. He was retaliating, it is said, for earlier runaround treatment given the Africans. Finally, the Security Council approved the use of force. A British frigate stopped the *Manuela* on the high seas, put an armed force aboard and ordered the tanker to change course away from Beira.

Portugal is angered by Britain's attempts to tell her how to run her affairs in Africa. For more than 300 years Angola and Mozambique, Portugal's African possessions, have been perfect examples of multi-racial societies evolving from a harmonious acceptance of Portuguese culture, language, traditions, education and economic opportunities. Last year when I visited these areas, as well as Rhodesia, I saw sufficient evidence to convince me that here, as well as in South Africa, any attempt to use force from outside will only delay the orderly processes of change.

Congressman John M. Ashbrook (R.-Ohio) returned last month from a fact-finding mission to Rhodesia and told Congress it was not getting the true picture of Africa or Rhodesia.

"The basis of African nationalism has for the most part been crass materialism," he said. "Marxist ideologies seem to rule the day." He quoted the inscription on the monument Nkrumah erected to himself in Ghana: "Seek ye first the political kingdom and all things shall be added unto you."

Despite Nkrumah's recent fall, his words seem to be the guiding motto for the overambitious everywhere, including Mr. Wilson, who now calls for force to impose sanctions against Rhodesia, something he did not care to do until he had a majority in Parliament.

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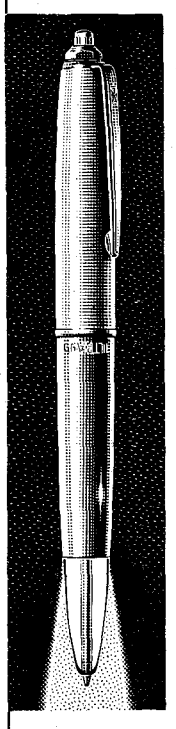

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What's Behind Jobless Figures?

From the *Washington Report* of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States

How far is the Administration willing to go to "trade off" more inflation for further reductions in unemployment?

This raises a second question: Just *who* are the unemployed? It's important to know when you're trying to attack the unemployment problem.

A look at the 3,158,000 out of work in February gives some idea of what we're dealing with.

The jobless rate (seasonally adjusted) in February was 3.7 per cent of the civilian labor force, lowest since 1953.

It has created serious shortages of skilled labor, imbalances and inflationary pressures. This situation will worsen as the Administration pushes willy-nilly toward even lower levels below 3 per cent.

Government figures on the jobless reveal:

- More than half, or 56 per cent, are not heads of households.
- Almost half, or 45 per cent, have been out of work less than five weeks.
- One fifth, or 19 per cent, are looking only for part-time work. (More than half of these, or 52 per cent, are teenagers in school.)
- More than one tenth, or 11 per cent, have never worked.
- Six per cent are on temporary layoff or waiting to start a new job.

The unemployed who urgently need help are not the above. Rather, they are the heads of families who are unemployed for five weeks or more, have work experience, are looking for full-time work and do not have a job waiting for them.

How many are there of these?

We don't know. Government statistics don't show this cross classification.

But we should know. This latter group represents a heavy economic burden on themselves, their families and their community.

Furthermore, the measures we need to deal with the real hardships of joblessness need not arbitrarily drain off buying power from the incomes and savings of millions of American breadwinners.

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CREDIBILITY GAP—Hearst reporter Warren Rogers told a group in Maryland recently why the Democrats are suffering a credibility gap. LBJ, said Rogers, told reporters he wouldn't name Abe Fortas to the Supreme Court just one day before he named him. He pulled the same stunt on reporters when it came to naming Arthur Goldberg to the United Nations.

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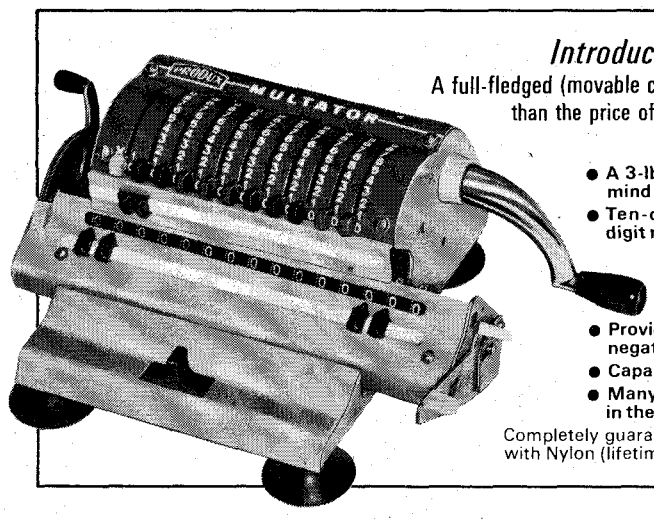

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There are basically just two kinds of calculators that make economic sense. If you can keep one of those $800 electric machines whirring a good part of every working day then anything less is no bargain. But if you are a businessman, engineer, a shipping clerk or plant foreman (who figures bids and such), a doctor, storekeeper — anyone who spends even 30-minutes a day writing figures on paper — then this last word from Germany can definitely save you expensive time and costly mistakes, **without making a major capital investment.** The MULTATOR-4 not only multiplies and divides at a brisk clip, but it can perform tricks only a few of those very expensive machines have been taught: such as automatic re-entry* and read-out of negative balances (bookkeepers take note!). This compact wizard from Hamburg naturally extracts square roots, but then, quite a few of those expensive machines can do that also.

For $79 you won't find the MULTATOR-4 any aerodynamic beauty that won some Industrial Design Award at a Plastics Fair. It is purely and simply a calculator—rugged and dependable; business-like, with no frills. Even so, it has that respectable made-to-work look that takes its form from its function. But most important is what it does . . . how easily it does it (how **fast**) . . . its handy size and weight . . . and, the price! At $79, the MULTATOR-4 makes sense to any bookkeeper, any billing clerk, (even housewives with budgets to wrestle)—anyone who now figures on paper. And if you were about to buy an(other) $800 to $900 "behemoth" or one of those $100 to $200 hybrid compromises—don't, until you give this $79 machine a chance to prove itself in action. One proving ground is the large office that now has one expensive calculator at one central spot. Now you can afford to put a MULTATOR-4 on the desk of everyone who otherwise would get up once or twice an hour to troop to the one expensive machine. Time and motion thus saved will quickly pay for a number of MULTATOR-4's. Our quantity discounts will help too.

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Where Vocational Education Has Failed

By DR. MAX RAFFERTY, California Superintendent of Public Instruction

Never in any nation's history has there been such a hue and cry after vocational education as the one in which we are currently engaged. The Youth Corps and the Job Corps are nosing every likely copse and thicket, quivering with eagerness at even the slightest hint of short-cut methodology stirring within and pointing rigidly whenever a bashful new technique whirrs unexpectedly from covert.

The beaters and gunbearers of the Economic Opportunity Act are flushing the countryside in all directions, seeking not only the elusive quarry of trainable and willing employes, but also the game bags labeled "job rehabilitation" in which to bear the spoils of the chase triumphantly back to the nearest vocational training center.

The whole power of Uncle Sam has been unleashed to get into the hands of unskilled labor the tools and the skills needed to transform it into skilled labor.

We are told on every side that the aircraft industry is crying for all sorts of strange and esoteric mechanical abilities and that the schools are going to have to install everything from micro-millimetric measuring devices to nuclear reactors in order to train the highly specialized technicians needed to service both the Air Age of today and the Space Age of tomorrow. The same claims are made for an increasing segment of both heavy and light industry.

There's no doubt that this is true. We're going to need better trained experts in many industrial fields, and it's perfectly true that this means more complex and expensive vocational courses in the schools.

But important as this is, it isn't the real problem.

For every exotic job opportunity involving knowledge of slide rules and electronic transistors there are 50 vacancies which involve nothing of the sort.

Want to know the kind of qualifications these jobs require? Here they are:

- Ability to read without lip-moving and with a glazing of the eyeballs whenever a word of more than two syllables comes along.
- Proficiency in making change, which in turn requires certain minimum essentials in adding and subtracting.
- Moderately acceptable vocal speech patterns; that is, conducting a conversation with relatively few gross grammatical errors and with absolutely no reliance upon such ineffable verbal crutches as "Crazy, man!"
- Willingness to shut up, take orders and work hard.
- Cheerfulness, helpfulness and a civil tongue in one's head.

I submit that all five of these qualifications are in uncommonly short supply. I submit further that the schools are in an excellent posture to supply all five. And I'm willing to bet that, in the vast majority of jobs available today and tomorrow, the applicant who has mastered all five is not only going to get hired; he's going to stay hired.

The proprietor of a combination garage and gas station cornered me the other day after a meeting, backed me into a corner and prodded me on the chest with a meaty and slightly discolored forefinger.

"I hire a lot of kids just out of high school," he began, breathing heavily. "And I have to let a lot of them go pretty quick. Not because they don't know how to operate the equipment. Heck, I can teach them that in a day or two.

"Oh, no. It's because they don't know how to work. They lean on a broom or a grease gun for 10 minutes and they want a coffee break. Leave 'em unsupervised for five minutes, and they're over in the corner talking about last Saturday's rumble or next Friday's blast at Tiger a Go-Go. Dock 'em when they come in late, and they think you're Simon Legree."

He eyed me despairingly.

"Why don't you school fellows forget the lathe operation and the band saw rigging and all that, at least until you've taught these kids the right *attitudes?* If they've got that, we can give 'em the rest they need, right on the job."

I told him I'd do my best. As he walked away, he looked back over his shoulder.

"And while you're at it, try to talk 'em into shaving, getting a haircut and throwing away the open-toed shoes. I've got no objection to some character going around looking like Peter the Hermit, but I'm hanged if he's going to work in my place."

Okay, my colleagues in vocational education. You heard what the man said. And you know something? I think he's right.

Maybe somebody ought to tell Sargent Shriver.

(Copyright 1966, Los Angeles *Times*)

Communist Probe Decision

Court Makes 1st Amendment A Much Wider Escape Hatch

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

Having reduced the once-respected 5th Amendment to virtual meaninglessness via a series of tortured interpretations over the last decade or so, the Supreme Court now rules that witnesses in state investigations may hide behind the 1st Amendment's freedom - of - speech guarantee as well, to escape given testimony which may prove damaging to them.

The Supreme Court's newest ruling, reversing the contempt conviction of a New Hampshire bookkeeper sentenced to a year in prison for refusing to answer questions in a probe of communism in that state, further hobbles the power of the state to investigate subversive activities.

The bookkeeper, one Hugo DeGregory —who was secretary-treasurer of the Communist party of New England in 1946 and its candidate for lieutenant governor of Massachusetts in 1940— stated under oath he was not a Communist in 1957, when New Hampshire's anti-subversive law was enacted.

But he "took the 1st" in refusing to tell if he was a Communist before 1957, and was found in contempt of court.

In its reversal ruling, the Supreme Court conceded that investigation, as a part of law-making, "may properly probe historic events for any light that may be thrown on present conditions and problems."

But Justice Douglas, speaking for the majority, asserted that the record in the New Hampshire case is "devoid of any evidence that there is any Communist movement" in that state, and that the state, therefore, may not "override the guarantee of the 1st Amendment that a person can speak or not, as he chooses, free of all government compulsion."

In his dissent, Justice John M. Harlan upheld the state's right to investigate Communist subversion.

Much more realistically, Justice Harlan, the minority spokesman, holds that the state "should be free to investigate the existence or non-existence of Communist party subversion or any other legitimate subject of concern to the state."

"I cannot say as a constitutional matter," he added, "that inquiry into the current operations of the Communist party could not be advanced by knowledge of its operations a decade ago."

Clearly, there is every likelihood that this would be the case. In any event, determining the facts is what investigations are for.

The upshot of the Supreme Court's latest ploy in government-by-interpretation is that the 1st Amendment now joins the much-invoked and much-abused 5th as a conveniently enlarged escape-hatch for those whose deeds will not suffer the light of day.

The Battle Over Pay TV

From the Anaheim (Calif.) *Bulletin*

(*Editor's note: In November 1964, California voters approved by a 2-to-1 margin Proposition 15, which barred the establishment of pay TV. Approval of this referendum forced out of business Subscription Television, Inc., the principal pay-TV company in the state. However, the California Supreme Court in a 6-to-1 decision recently ruled this proposition unconstitutional and pay TV might yet come to California. Similar proposals have arisen in other states and the editorial below examines some of the questions of freedom involved.*)

Now that the California Supreme Court has acted on the pay television case, it may come to pass that you'll have to drop a quarter in your TV set before you can get a program.

That two bits may seem like a fair chunk of change to you. Even so, we believe you are better off paying the tab than you would be by prohibiting a legitimate enterprise. We are saying, in other words, that the court did right when it ruled that Proposition 15, which banned pay television, is unconstitutional. Our reason for seconding the court's decision is as follows:

First, we believe that your property is yours to do what you please with as long as you don't damage anybody else's property. That seems somewhat afar from the television question, but wait a minute—we'll show how it's connected.

You have a TV set in your house, right? It's your property. Nobody is entitled to come into your house and turn your set off because he happens not to like the program you are watching. If he tried it, you would throw him right out on his ear and he would deserve the lumps.

But suppose this television censor was a little smarter than that. Suppose he threw a law in the Sacramento hopper that made it legal for a policeman to come into your house and turn off your favorite program. Suppose the measure somehow got through the legislature as many comparable bills do. Now it's legal for some outside party to turn off your TV, but is it any more right?

For the sake of this discussion, let's suppose the TV censor was very, very smart. Assume he was so intelligent that he knew it would make you mad if a policeman showed up at your door. So he figures out another plan. He gets a bill passed that allows him to turn off your favorite program not at the receiving end, but at the transmitting end. Again he has acted legally, but is he right?

We think the reasonable conclusion is that the TV censor is wrong in either case. In fact, he's doing a little bit worse when he disguises his bad action with the color of law. For he is doing a disrespectful thing in a respectful manner, and the misdeed is harder to detect.

Well then, when the voters of this state adopted a constitutional amendment that forbade subscription television, they were simply turning off somebody else's program at the transmitter. True, in this particular case, the offense was not against you personally. In fact, the competition that could ensue between paid and unpaid television may eventually hurt your pocketbook. But as we see it, it is better for us to be hurt that way than to have somebody else's basic rights violated.

Pay TV versus unpaid TV. Let them fight it out. Victory will go to the one that satisfies the most customers. Who knows, you may even surprise yourself by being in the satisfied group.

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NEW RED INVENTION—"Certain Russians are said to take a drink called a 'Bronze Mary,' made of furniture varnish, water and salt. Now *there* is something we fully believe the Reds invented."—From the Memphis *Commercial Appeal*

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James M. Roche (right), president of General Motors, testified recently on auto safety before a Senate Government Operations subcommittee. With him is his attorney Ted Sorensen, former assistant to President Kennedy.

U.S Automobile Manufacturers Should Get Up Off Their Knees

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

Vernon J. Veritas, the old truth teller, wasn't very well pleased with how General Motors, Ford, Chrysler and American Motors—the big four of the automotive trade—crawled before the scowls of the Senate Commerce Committee.

The car makers had been caught with their hands in the cash register, and there was no doubt they were selling the public more styling than safety in highway transportation. But there were a lot of things the motor magnates left unsaid.

"They might have said," declared Veritas, "that the Declaration of Independence wasn't just taking up space when it included 'pursuit of happiness' as one of the unalienable rights. It won't do to say that people like cars on which the brakes slip, the accelerators jam and the steering gear stabs them in the chest. But there's a fair assumption that people put a lot of things ahead of personal safety. They like speedy, snappy, exciting vehicles or they wouldn't have been demanding them in the market place all these years."

Mr. Veritas wasn't saying, was he, that Congress shouldn't be looking into the matter of highway safety, where more lives are lost over a weekend than in a major Viet Nam battle?

"Congress has a duty to inform the people of the dangers and of the deficiencies in automobiles," Veritas averred, "but I would have liked it better if John Bugas of Ford Motors had answered up more sharply instead of begging the committee not to slap on federal regulatory laws.

"Democracy expresses itself in free customers' choice just as much as it does at the election polls. It is getting so that Congress does the muck-raking these days, and there's hardly an industry which hasn't been held up to public disgrace for being something less than perfect. The car makers really don't engineer risks into their products, and tobacco companies didn't invent cancer.

"If you believe that liberty is equally as important as life, you have got to leave a lot of decisions to the people, including their right to live dangerously. Men like Sen. Bob Kennedy, a ski enthusiast, and Bourke Hickenlooper, a chain smoker, ought to be very sympathetic with other people's ways of taking chances. After all, nobody gets out of the world alive anyhow."

It doesn't seem likely that Congress will put automotive manufacture under strict regulations, so Mr. Veritas must be thinking about the whole trend of the welfare state to look for ways of telling people how to live.

"That is why I would like to have heard the motor magnates make a better case," Veritas went on. "The way things are going, businessmen in another generation won't know what decision making is. Instead of pricing a product on the economics of cost and demand, they will be asking whether or not the President approves. It is possible for the drug companies to be so scared of the Food and Drug Administration that there will be no more pioneering in that field.

"People are already coming to the idea that prosperity is made in Washington, whereas it has been created by entrepreneurs and investors who put new goods on the market, find new ways to finance them and figure out what the consumer wants to buy. The idea that a statesman is somebody who mothers the people isn't likely to make for initiative and independence."

Mr. Veritas wasn't going to argue, was he, that things were better in the old days, when corporations were arrogant instead of servile before the seat of government?

"If I had a choice," said Vernon J. Veritas, who cannot tell a lie, "I'd rather see the productive and constructive factions of the population standing up for themselves and their enterprises than to watch the government being sassed by people of the other sort—the draft-dodgers and the mendicants, for example. There's something wrong with a government when it has the power to intimidate its creative elements, whether they are artists or industrialists."

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(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

Nix on 'Ombudsman'

From the San Diego *Union*

At first thought the proposed office of "Ombudsman," under consideration by the Senate Judiciary Committee, seems to make sense, which is a part of its deceptive danger.

"Ombudsman" would be an agency to receive public complaints about federal "arbitrariness and neglect." It is likely such an office would be swamped with work.

Such an office, however, also would erect another barrier between the public and the Administration and create another budding federal agency.

If people have a complaint that a federal agency will not consider, their best "ombudsman" is the elected representative and the ballot box.

What Did Railroad Strike Prove?

From the Arizona *Republic*

Like the aged ex-showgirl who late in life takes a succession of husbands merely to prove to herself that she has retained her youthful charm, the obsolescent Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen recently disrupted the entire nation merely to prove that it was not yet a toothless tiger.

The firemen did not gain a single benefit from their four-day nationwide walkout. But they idled trains along a 13,000-mile network of tracks in 38 states. They partly paralyzed industry and commuter service throughout the nation. And they cost the U.S. economy tens of millions of dollars.

And why? The Associated Press quoted a union spokesman as saying the strike proved the weakened union "still was powerful enough to wield the powerful strike weapon and bring the vast railroad industry to a halt."

The strikers would still be out were it not that a federal judge fined the union $27,000 a day and threatened to raise the fine to $510,000 a day if it continued to disobey his back-to-work order. As it is, the union may strike again after April 27, when the restraining order expires.

The union is demanding that the court order the railroads to restore thousands of fireman jobs wiped out by a 1963 arbitration award. The union does not care that firemen are unnecessary on diesels. Nor does it care that Congress supposedly settled the issue when in 1963 it passed the first compulsory arbitration law in U.S. history.

The firemen's union is interested in jobs, not in justice, or Congress, or the public. Union officials claim that, because the arbitration ruling expired, they can demand reinstatement of all of the approximately 18,000 firemen's jobs that have been eliminated in the past two years.

Featherbedding is certainly an issue here. But the more important issue is that of unions that would cripple the entire nation's economy in singleminded pursuit of feathering their own nest.

Congress long has entertained a pro-union bias, which is reflected in legislation opposed to the public interest. Those few restraints which do exist were written into law only after the Hoffas, Becks and assorted others made it impossible for even Congress to ignore their abuses any longer. But no legal restraint has done more than inconvenience a very few union bosses.

This time it was the railroad firemen who inconvenienced people and caused economic losses that can never be compensated or recouped. Before that, it was striking newspaper guild members, and before that airline employes, or truck drivers, or spacecraft union employes.

No one can say what union will be next to inflict harm on the public. But one or more will . . . tomorrow, next week, next month. And it will happen again and again until Congress discharges its responsiblity to the American people by forcing legal restraints upon a group which has not been deterred by any other kind.

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RECIPE FOR CHAOS—Teamster President James Riddle Hoffa has called upon his fellow union leaders to work toward common expiration dates in their contracts so whole cities and major segments of the economy can be threatened with simultaneous multi-union strikes if they resist union demands. Hoffa made the suggestion in a speech to a Detroit convention of the Central Conference of Teamsters.

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Is the Social Security 'Income Ceiling' Necessary?

By LARRY HOWELL in the Dallas *Morning News*

In the battle that is called a "War on Poverty," no firm definition of poverty has yet emerged, but $3,000-a-year income is mentioned most often as an arbitrary cutoff. If this is a realistic figure, then there are more than six million Americans in dire poverty whom the "war" bypasses.

These are the six million Americans over age 65 who are trying to exist on $2,000 or less a year. Put out to pasture by the business world, cut off from their life's work by a birthday barrier, they find their lives ending as they started—with the wolves of want at the door.

A 65-year-old man who retires today, if he meets the maximum requirements and has no other source of income, stands to get $135.90 a month from Social Security, or a grand total of $1,630.80 a year. If his wife is also 65, her allowance of $68 a month is added to the check, bringing the yearly income to $2,446.80.

If the struggle to feed, house and clothe two people on $203.90 a month is unsuccessful, the man may try to go back to work. Here he runs head-on into a regulation that may be promoting poverty for millions of the nation's old folks—the Social Security ceiling on income.

The man can earn $1,500 a year and not lose a dime in Social Security benefits. But for every two dollars over $1,500 that he earns—up to $2,700—he loses one dollar in Social Security. After $2,700 the benefit loss is dollar for dollar.

Look at it this way: The man who makes $1,500 and who, along with his wife, collects a Social Security check, will earn $3,946.80 a year. But let's assume that he makes $500 more than the $1,500 "ceiling." His Social Security benefits are cut by $250. Thus, even though his income has gone up $500 he shows a net gain of only $250 at year's end.

As for the ceiling, it takes a man 30 weeks of 40 hours each, working for the minimum wage of $1.25 an hour, to reach the $1,500 ceiling. There aren't many 30-week-a-year jobs around.

Apparently the Social Security "ceiling" has also bothered lawmakers. From 1940 to 1950 it was a mere $14.99 a month. In 1950 it was raised to $600 a year, in 1952 to $900 a year, and in 1954 it was hiked to $1,200 a year. The new $1,500 ceiling went into effect January 1 of this year.

The ceiling should be a source of concern. If it is employed as a threat to keep more 65-year-olds on the job, then Social Security's "everybody pays, everybody benefits" principle is shaken. If, on the other hand, it is a concession to the American's aversion to giving the rich handouts, then it should be called welfare, not insurance.

From time to time Social Security calls in experts to check the program's actuarial health. Without fail, it is pronounced hale and hearty. It follows then, that the program assumes every participant will start collecting his benefits no later than age 65. Such would be part of actuarial good health.

Not all people, however, take their benefits. Those not collected are placed in a "trust fund," the administrators explain.

At this point the American should stop and think a moment. If the money for all retired participants—rich or poor, employed or jobless—is either paid or laid back, it stands to reason that nothing would be hurt if everybody were actually paid.

Such a move would not be without precedent. It is, in fact, a cornerstone of every good private life insurance policy. At age 65, the insured may collect his "guaranteed cash value," the money he has paid into his policy, regardless of whether he makes a million dollars or nothing from other sources. Social Security goes only part way with that principle, cut short of the "money-back guarantee" by the ceiling.

Knocking out the ceiling would produce these results.

- Many elderly people would be spared the chore of reporting their earnings to Social Security.
- Social Security people would be spared the book work and leg work of filing and checking the reports.
- Some of the elderly might be encouraged to tackle higher-paying jobs, assured that the Social Security checks would keep coming regardless of how the jobs turned out.

As it stands now, the ceiling and fellow-traveling penalties are working a hardship both on the elderly and on the Social Security administration itself.

There is a simple way to remove that hardship. Remove the ceiling.

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SUBSIDIZED CELEBRATION — The House has given rubber-stamp approval to a $4.6-million grant to help Alaska celebrate its centennial next year. Rep. Richard Roudebush (R.-Ind.) opposed the handout, noting that Indiana will celebrate its sesquicentennial (150th) anniversary this year. "It will be a wing-ding celebration lasting all year long, but we haven't run to Washington with a tin cup asking for a federal subsidy," he noted.

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WAR ON CONSUMERS—"According to the government's consumer price index, the cost of living is higher than ever before. If this keeps up it'll soon be impossible to *be* a consumer."—From the Minneapolis *Star*

Taxpayer Toils for Government One-Fourth of Every Work Day

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Politicians rely on the public's short memory. Fool them this November. Remember tax day—April 15. What's wrong with having some faith in things and teaching them a lesson?

You'll be working 144 days before they ask for your votes again. As the average wage earner, you'll be working 2 hours 19 minutes every—every—working day just to pay your taxes—federal, state, local.

As this column has stated before, if you quit at 5 p.m. you've been working since 2:41 to pay your taxes. If you start at 9 a.m. you could have filled in the morning—every morning—doing nothing until 11:19 and then begin to work, except for your taxes.

When you talk about the high cost of living, you're talking mostly about taxes—$851 a year for every man, woman and child in the United States. Nothing compares with their bite out of your workday. No expense for your food, housing, clothing, transportation, or anything, compares with your visible and invisible tax payments. And although a workingman may never see a tax bill, he pays it just the same.

You'll be working eight hours a day between now and the November elections for more than 47 days only to pay your taxes. Remember that when you hear the politicians say, "We're friends"—whatever that means in their language. And keep on remembering it when you hear the cheery sound of your tax money clinking, clanking, tinkling down the drain.

For that's the scandal of it. We're the patsies for all the waste, failures in foreign policy, boobland decisions here at home, and the cover-ups. These are the largest factors in the tax load.

The Internal Revenue Service is now equivalent to an enterprise with 64,000 employes and 900 branch offices. It is a vast bureaucracy that inevitably contains political overtones. The IRS makes a more conscientious effort to police itself than the public knows or appreciates. Swindlers, some very entrenched, make the tax collector's life a nightmare.

But the IRS is also the greatest invisible power in our government. It needs policing by newspapers and citizens alike more than any other single agency. Yet because of its great power for intimidation or punishment, the IRS is notoriously free from public opposition for fear of retaliation.

In contrast, witness the unsung heroism of Sen. Edward V. Long (D.-Mo.), who has been conducting a largely thwarted investigation of the Internal Revenue Service. I don't know Sen. Long, but I'd like to tip my hat to him.

He states: "In spite of my investigation, the IRS refuses to close down its school instructing agents in everything from the use of wire tapping to burglar tools." He documents his charges that some agents threaten our constitutional liberties—and how! He urges all citizens "to stop the growth of any police state mind and morality in the Internal Revenue Service by refusing to give revenue agents information they have no right to demand."

Moreover, Sen. Long reveals a shocking change today as the government goes on spreading its bureaucracy across the land in the name of the "Great Society."

The Senate investigators discovered that 23 federal agencies now have direct access to our citizens' tax returns for an official total of 109 different reasons.

So many agencies invade this basic right of privacy on behalf of Big Brother for reasons so general that it makes a mockery of that supposed right. Our private affairs are laid open to the politicians and bureaucrats alike, who can then proceed to perform as they like. That's what is happening behind the scenes, but do our citizens know it?

The responsibility of good citizenship is clear. This responsibility demands that you pay your taxes honestly and fully on April 15, right down to the last penny, and then follow Sen. Long's advice. For if we ever reach the point where the citizens fear the tax collector too much, and keep quiet or cave in for that reason, we'd better give the country back to the Indians. It's our country, after all, you know. It doesn't belong entirely to the insiders and the spenders.

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SEN. PAUL DOUGLAS (D.-Ill.) has sharply criticized colleagues who urge appeasement in South Viet Nam. "Communists are worse than Nazis. At least Nazis were not hypocrites. Freedom is more important than peace and I shall never yield in my resistance to Communist aggression. I violently disagree with criticism of our war effort in South Viet Nam."

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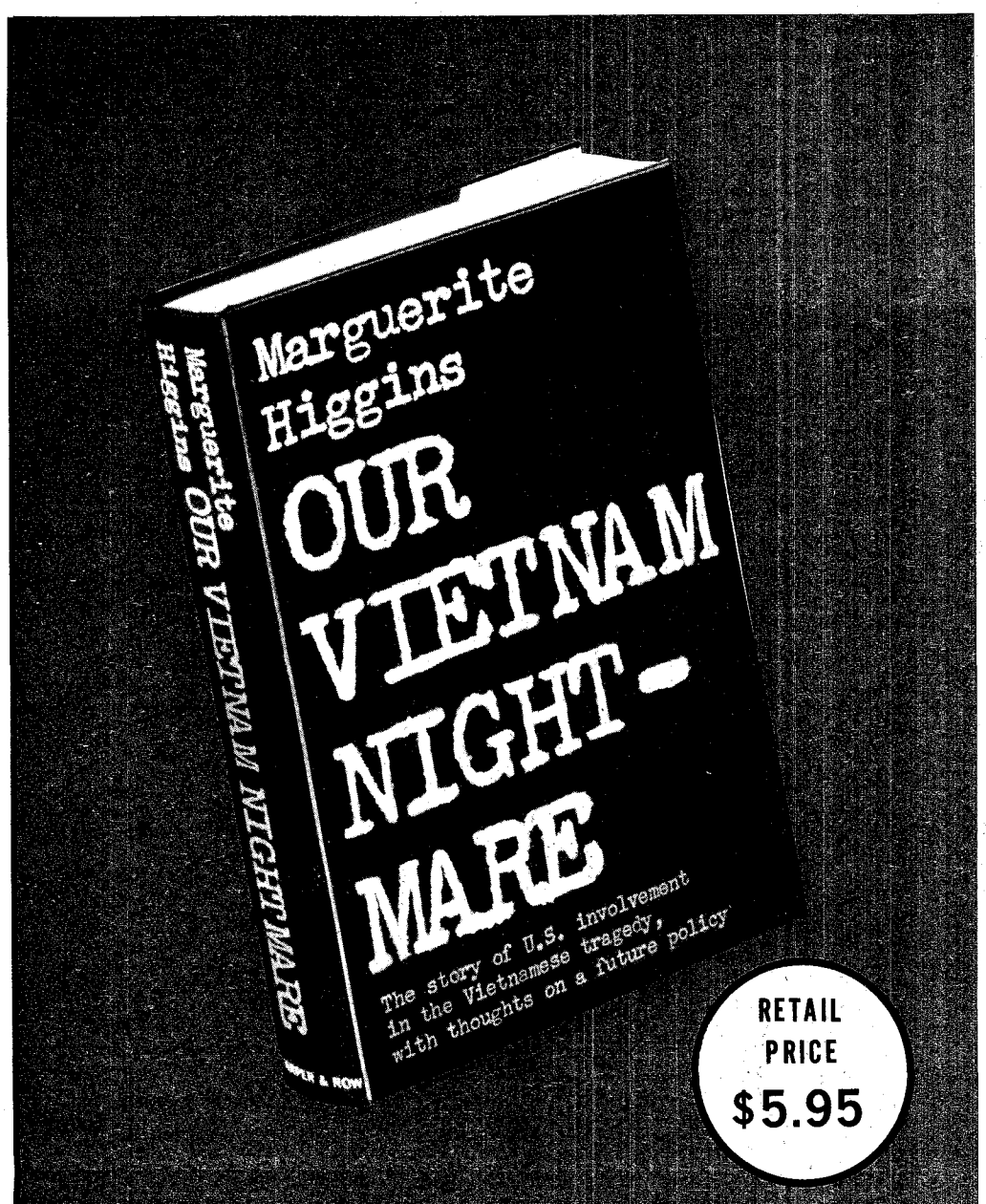
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The late Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter, Marguerite Higgins, told it all in her last book: *Our Viet Nam Nightmare*. It is the most exhaustive and controversial study to date of America's involvement in the Viet Nam conflict—and our complicity in Viet Nam politics.

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Thich Tri Quang, the Buddhist monk who led the Diem coup and later was given refuge by Henry Cabot Lodge in the U. S. Embassy, is a perfect example. He is a professional coup-maker. Right now he's hard at work undermining the Ky government. (By the time you read this, the Venerable Quang might already have added another bloody page to his "Book of Coups.") Yet we continue to treat this wolf in monk's clothing as if he were some American labor leader demanding a raise for his union!

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

Smaller Paychecks

By REP. WILLIAM WIDNALL (R.-N.J.)

President Johnson has suggested the possibility of a tax increase this year, to take spending power out of the hands of individual Americans. What strikes me, however, is the fact that a tax increase, by itself, will not cut down on the demand for a limited supply of goods and services which is presently causing inflation. If the tax money is spent by the government, the only change will be that the government will decide what to buy and not the individual wage earner, who will still be faced with rising prices and even less income to spend. We need to cut back on government spending by setting program priorities. The relevant choice is not between guns and butter; under proper conditions we can afford both. The critical choice today is between inflation and a stable rate of economic growth which will strengthen, not weaken, our capacity to meet domestic problems, and our international commitments as well.

Four-Year War?

By REP. H. ALLEN SMITH (R.-Calif.)

Every effort should be made at this time to reduce non-essential government spending. Otherwise we will have a tax increase, inflation and serious repercussions. Under a sensible policy of first things first until Viet Nam is settled, the vice president's mansion should be held in abeyance, or, in the alternative, placed at the top of the list of items to be postponed. One of the things that bothered me about this measure was a statement by the important majority leader to the effect that "we need this residence more now in wartime than we would in peacetime; that the responsibilities of the vice president are greater now than if we were at peace, that we need to secure his welfare." The facts are that the first year will be for planning and architectural drawings. The mansion will not be completed for three or four years. The statement of the gentleman would imply that the "Great Society" expects the Viet Nam war to continue for three or four years or longer. This causes me extreme concern.

Cost of Relief

By REP. RICHARD ROUDEBUSH (R.-Ind.)

There are 3.2 million now unemployed, and there are about 7.8 million on relief. This is a costly business for the American taxpayer. Since 1963 when this Administration took over, the cost of federal, state and local relief has gone up 37 per cent—from $4.6 billion a year to $6.5 billion. The cold facts are these: there was a drop in the number of unemployed between February 1963 and February 1966 of 1.1 million persons, according to Labor Department statistics. Between 1963 and fiscal year 1966, those on relief increased by exactly the same number, 1.1 million. The New Deal went in for work relief to give people jobs in a great depression; that is, to create jobs for the millions who were out of work. The "Great Society" is providing work relief when the secretary of labor informs us there is a shortage of manpower and when the President urges private business not to expand plant facilities. The result of federal overspending in boom times is a squeeze for our people. The housewife is confronted with skyrocketing food costs and taxes are going spiraling up, too, as soon as the Administration believes it can take the political risk.

Why Jobless Drop?

By REP. THOMAS B. CURTIS (R.-Mo.)

The Johnson Administration doesn't relate the jobless rate drop of 3.7 per cent to the fact that we have drafted 300,000 boys and put 500,000 additional people in the munitions industry. You can solve a lot of economic problems by going to war. But this is not the correct solution. We want a strong economy based on peace. And in 1967 and 1968 I hope we will be grappling with problems that a peacetime economy will give us.

Rubber Stamp Revolt

By REP. GERALD FORD (R.-Mich.)

House Democratic leaders have been informed by 26 of their colleagues from the West that no longer will they be told how each of the 26 is going to vote on any controversial issue. It is common practice in any legislative body to take a head-count to see if there are enough votes to pass or defeat an important bill. It is done in the House by both parties. But last week, 26 Western Democrats wrote the speaker to say they would provide only a numerical breakdown on how they stand but would give no names. This is their answer to the kind of pressure exerted by the leadership and the White House on those who may object to being a "rubber stamp" for the President. In the letter to the speaker the group said that it feels "the leadership should be more responsive to members of the House of Representatives, an important segment of the legislative branch, rather than to the executive branch." This is a healthy sign. These Western Democrats want to exercise independent judgment and to represent the interests of their constituents; they object to continuing as a rubber stamp for the chief executive in the White House. This attitude must be encouraged. We need a strong, independent Congress to prevent one-man rule, to protect the President from himself, and to preserve the liberties of every American.

Tobacco for Starving

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

On Monday, April 4, under parliamentary procedure that prohibited the offering of a single amendment, the House approved legislation to provide food for India. The initial price tag was estimated at $500 million. Before the citizens of this country become too emotional over this deal, they should ponder the fact that their money is being used to ship tobacco, as well as other products, to India's hungry. When this member of Congress asked why tobacco was made a part of the food handout to the hungry, the chairman of the House Agriculture Committee responded that smoking would relax their tension and make them better able to assimilate their food!

GOP Economy Move Fails in House

The House GOP leadership has pledged to seek reduced federal expenditures rather than a tax hike to hold down inflation. The first attempt came about April 6 as the House rejected, 233-157, a move by Rep. Frank Bow (R.-Ohio) to recommit the money bill for the Interior Department and related agencies in order to cut 5 per cent of the funds reported out of committee (See Human Events *last week, p. 4).*

REPUBLICANS FOR: 127

Anderson (Ill.)
Andrews, Glenn
Arends
Ashbrook
Ayres
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bell
Berry
Betts
Bolton
Bow
Bray
Broomfield
Brown (Ohio)
Broyhill (N.C.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Buchanan
Burton (Utah)
Byrnes (Wis.)
Cahill
Callaway
Carter
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen, Don
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Collier
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtin
Curtis
Dague
Davis (Wis.)
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Duncan (Tenn.)
Dwyer
Edwards (Ala.)
Ellsworth
Erlenborn
Findley
Ford, Gerald
Frelinghuysen
Fulton (Pa.)
Goodell
Gross
Grover
Gurney
Hall
Halleck
Halpern
Hansen (Idaho)
Harsha
Harvey (Ind.)
Harvey (Mich.)
Horton
Hosmer
Hutchinson
Johnson (Pa.)
Jonas
Keith
King (N.Y.)
Kunkel
Kupferman
Laird
Langen
Latta
Lipscomb
McClory
McCulloch
McEwen
MacGregor
Mailliard
Martin (Ala.)
Martin (Mass.)
Martin (Neb.)
Mathias
May
Michel
Minshall
Mize
Moore
Morse
Morton
Mosher
Nelsen
O'Konski
Pelly
Pirnie
Poff
Quie
Quillen
Reid (Ill.)
Reid (N.Y.)
Rhodes (Ariz.)
Robison
Saylor
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith (Calif.)
Smith (N.Y.)
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Teague (Calif.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Utt
Walker (Miss.)
Watkins
Watson
Whalley
Widnall
Wilson, Bob
Wydler
Younger

DEMOCRATS FOR: 30

Abbitt
Ashmore
Bennett
Brooks
Davis (Ga.)
Dorn
Fisher
Fountain
Gathings
Gettys
Haley
Henderson
Jarman
Jones (Mo.)
Jones (N.C.)
Lennon
Mackie
O'Neal (Ga.)
Ottinger
Passman
Pickle
Randall
Satterfield
Selden
Stephens
Stratton
Tuck
Weltner
Whitener
Wolff

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 227

Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson (Tenn.)
Andrews, George
Annunzio
Ashley
Aspinall
Bandstra
Baring
Barrett
Beckworth
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Brademas
Brown (Calif.)
Burke
Burton (Calif.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Callan
Carey
Casey
Celler
Clark
Clevenger
Cohelan
Conyers
Cooley
Corman
Craley
Culver
Daddario
Daniels
Dawson
de la Garza
Delaney
Dent
Denton
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Dow
Downing
Dulski
Duncan (Ore.)
Edmondson
Edwards (Calif.)
Edwards (La.)
Evans (Colo.)
Everett
Fallon
Farnsley
Farnum
Fascell
Feighan
Flood
Flynt
Fogarty
Foley
Ford, Wm. D.
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton (Tenn.)
Gallagher
Garmatz
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gilligan
Gonzalez
Grabowski
Gray
Green (Ore.)
Green (Pa.)
Greigg
Grider
Griffiths
Hagan (Ga.)
Hagen (Calif.)
Hamilton
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen (Iowa)
Hansen (Wash.)
Hathaway
Hays
Hebert
Hechler
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Holland
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Huot
Ichord
Irwin
Jennings
Joelson
Johnson (Calif.)
Jones (Ala.)
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kee
Kelly
King (Calif.)
King (Utah)
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Krebs
Landrum
Leggett
Long (La.)
Long (Md.)
Love
McCarthy
McDowell
McFall
McGrath
McMillan
McVicker
Macdonald
Machen
Mackay
Madden
Mahon
Marsh
Matsunaga
Meeds
Mills
Minish
Mink
Moeller
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris
Morrison
Moss
Multer
Murphy (Ill.)
Murphy (N.Y.)
Natcher
Nedzi
O'Brien
O'Hara (Ill.)
O'Hara (Mich.)
Olsen (Mont.)
Olson (Minn.)
O'Neill (Mass.)
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pike
Poage
Pool
Price
Pucinski
Purcell
Race
Redlin
Rees
Resnick
Reuss
Rhodes (Pa.)
Rivers (S.C.)
Rivers (Alaska)
Roberts
Rodino
Rogers (Colo.)
Rogers (Fla.)
Rogers (Tex.)
Ronan
Roncalio
Rooney (Pa.)
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roush
Roybal
Ryan
St. Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Schisler
Schmidhauser
Secrest
Senner
Shipley
Sickles
Sikes
Sisk
Slack
Smith (Iowa)
Smith (Va.)
Staggers
Stalbaum
Steed
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Taylor
Thomas
Thompson (N.J.)
Todd
Trimble
Tuten
Udall
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Vivian
Waggonner
Walker (N.M.)
Watts
White (Idaho)
White (Tex.)
Wilson, Charles
Wright
Yates
Young
Zablocki

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 6

Andrews (N.D.)
Gubser
McDade
Reifel
Tupper
Wyatt

NOT VOTING: 42

Liberals Rebuff Second Cutback Bid

Following is the 244-to-127 rollcall vote by which the House defeated GOP attempts to recommit the money bill for the Post Office and Treasury Departments, the executive office of the President and certain independent offices in order to obtain a 5 per cent cut in expenditures. A "nay" vote supports LBJ.

REPUBLICANS FOR: 111

Anderson (Ill.)
Andrews, Glenn
Arends
Ashbrook
Ayres
Bates
Battin
Berry
Betts
Bolton
Bow
Bray
Broomfield
Brown (Ohio)
Broyhill (N.C.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Buchanan
Burton (Utah)
Byrnes (Wis.)
Cahill
Callaway
Carter
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen, Don
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Collier
Conable
Corbett
Cramer
Curtin
Curtis
Dague
Davis (Wis.)
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Duncan (Tenn.)
Dwyer
Edwards (Ala.)
Erlenborn
Findley
Ford, Gerald
Frelinghuysen
Fulton (Pa.)
Goodell
Gross
Grover
Gurney
Hall
Halleck
Hansen (Idaho)
Harsha
Harvey (Ind.)
Harvey (Mich.)
Hosmer
Hutchinson
Johnson (Pa.)
Jonas
Keith
King (N.Y.)
Kunkel
Laird
Langen
Latta
Lipscomb
McCulloch
McDade
McEwen
MacGregor
Mailliard
Martin (Ala.)
May
Michel
Minshall
Mize
Moore
Morse
Morton
Mosher
Nelsen
O'Konski
Pelly
Poff
Quie
Quillen
Reid (Ill.)
Rhodes (Ariz.)
Saylor
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith (Calif.)
Smith (N.Y.)
Springer
Stanton
Talcott
Teague (Calif.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Utt
Walker (Miss.)
Watkins
Watson
Whalley
Widnall
Wilson, Bob
Wyatt
Younger

DEMOCRATS FOR: 16

Andrews, George
Ashmore
Bennett
Dorn
Fountain
Gathings
Hagan (Ga.)
Haley
Henderson
Jones (N.C.)
Lennon
Ottinger
Pickle
Selden
Stratton
Whitener

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 230

Abbitt
Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson (Tenn.)
Annunzio
Ashley
Aspinall
Bandstra
Barrett
Beckworth
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Brademas
Brooks
Brown (Calif.)
Burke
Burton (Calif.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Callan
Carey
Casey
Celler
Clark
Clevenger
Cohelan
Conyers
Cooley
Corman
Craley
Culver
Daniels
Dawson
de la Garza
Delaney
Denton
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Dow
Downing
Dulski
Duncan (Ore.)
Edmondson
Edwards (Calif.)
Edwards (La.)
Evans (Colo.)
Everett
Evins (Tenn.)
Fallon
Farnsley
Farnum
Fascell
Feighan
Fisher
Flood
Flynt
Fogarty
Foley
Ford, Wm. D.
Friedel
Fulton (Tenn.)
Gallagher
Garmatz
Gettys
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gilligan
Gonzalez
Grabowski
Gray
Green (Ore.)
Green (Pa.)
Greigg
Grider
Griffiths
Hagen (Calif.)
Hamilton
Hanley
Hansen (Iowa)
Hansen (Wash.)
Hathaway
Hays
Hechler
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Holland
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Huot
Ichord
Irwin
Jarman
Jennings
Joelson
Johnson (Calif.)
Jones (Ala.)
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kee
Kelly
King (Calif.)
King (Utah)
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Krebs
Leggett
Long (La.)
Long (Md.)
Love
McCarthy
McDowell
McFall
McGrath
McMillan
McVicker
Macdonald
Machen
Mackay
Mackie
Madden
Mahon
Marsh
Matsunaga
Meeds
Mills
Minish
Mink
Moeller
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris
Morrison
Moss
Multer
Murphy (Ill.)
Murphy (N.Y.)
Natcher
Nedzi
O'Brien
O'Hara (Ill.)
O'Hara (Mich.)
Olsen (Mont.)
Olson (Minn.)
O'Neal (Ga.)
O'Neill (Mass.)
Passman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pike
Pool
Price
Pucinski
Purcell
Race
Randall
Redlin
Rees
Resnick
Reuss
Rhodes (Pa.)
Rivers (S.C.)
Rivers (Alaska)
Roberts
Rodino
Rogers (Colo.)
Rogers (Fla.)
Rogers (Tex.)
Ronan
Roncalio
Rooney (Pa.)
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roush
Roybal
Ryan
Satterfield
St. Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Schisler
Schmidhauser
Secrest
Senner
Shipley
Sickles
Sikes
Sisk
Slack
Smith (Iowa)
Staggers
Stalbaum
Steed
Stephens
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Taylor
Teague (Tex.)
Thomas
Thompson (Tex.)
Todd
Trimble
Tuten
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Vivian
Waggonner
Walker (N.M.)
Watts
Weltner
White (Idaho)
White (Tex.)
Wilson, Charles
Wolff
Wright
Yates
Young
Zablocki

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 14

Andrews (N.D.)
Bell
Conte
Gubser
Halpern
Horton
Kupferman
Reid (N.Y.)
Reifel
Robison
Rumsfeld
Stafford
Tupper
Wydler

NOT VOTING: 61

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